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A SHORT HISTORY

OF

MEDIÆVAL EUROPE

BY

OLIVER J. THATCHER, PH.D.

AUTHOR OF "A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH"

NEW YORK

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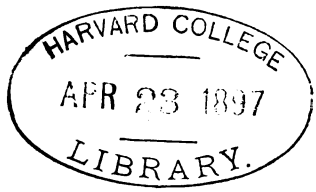

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PREFACE

THIS "Short History of Mediæval Europe" is an abridgment of a larger work, "Europe in the Middle Age," prepared by Dr. Ferdinand Schwill and myself, and is intended for use as a text-book in High and Preparatory Schools, as well as for the general reader who wishes, in a summary way, to acquaint himself with the progress of events and the course of development in Europe during the Middle Age (350–1500).

The teacher and the reader who wish to pursue the subject further are referred to the more comprehensive work named above, as well as to the following works:

ADAMS: Civilization during the Middle Ages, especially in Relation to Modern Civilization, 1894.

EMERTON: An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages, 1891.

EMERTON: Mediæval Europe, 1894.

BRYCE: The Holy Roman Empire.

SOHM: Outlines of Church History. With a Preface by Professor H. M. Gwatkin, M.A.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to my pupils, Mr. James W. Linn, for substantial aid in the publication of the book, and Miss Lina Moxley, for the preparation of the index.

O. J. T.

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INTRODUCTION

THE whole course of history is very conveniently divided into three periods—the Ancient, the Mediæval, and the Modern. Generally, fixed dates have been assigned for the beginning and end of each of these. They have then been further divided and subdivided, and each division has received a particular name. While this has been more or less convenient and justifiable, the divisions have often been treated so mechanically as to make a totally wrong impression, especially on the minds of students who are just beginning the study; for if there is anything that is firmly held by all good historians to-day, it is the continuity of history. There are no real breaks in its course. Every age is a preparation for, and an introduction to, the next. One period grows into another so gradually and naturally that the people who live in the time of transition are often utterly unconscious of the fact that a new period is beginning. Certain events may well be said to be epoch-making, but in spite of that their full effect is not felt at once. They slowly modify the existing order of things, and the old is gradually displaced by the new. The world is never actually revolutionized in a day.

The continuity of History.

It is not wrong to separate history into such periods, for

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But divisions are convenient and justifiable.

different interests prevail at different times, and, therefore, one period may have a very different character from that of another. But in making all such divisions two things should be carefully guarded against: fixed boundaries should not be assigned to them, and they should not be treated as if their predominant interest were their only interest. No one interest can absorb the whole life of a period. For several centuries the life of Europe has been too complex to admit of its being adequately treated from only one point of view.

The terms "Mediæval" and "Middle Age" have been used because of their convenience. That which brought about the great change in Europe was the invasions of the Barbarians, and these began on a grand scale in the fourth century. The end of the period is not perhaps so easily determined, but the period from 1450 to 1550 is marked by such movements as the great religious revolution, which involved all western Europe and was productive of many changes, the growth of absolutism in Europe, the changes in the practical government of many of the countries, the birth of political science, the multiplication of international relations, and the extension of industry and commerce, so that we may safely say that the Middle Age should end somewhere about that time. At any rate, a convenient place may there be found where one may stop and mark the failing of old, and the appearance of new, tendencies and characteristics.

Limits of the period.

Europe 350 A.D., compared with Europe 1500 A.D.

A comparison of the map of Europe in the fourth century of our era with that of the same country in the sixteenth century will give the best idea of the changes that took place there during the Middle Age. Such a comparison would suggest that all these changes could be grouped under four heads, namely, those in the political system, in language, in religion, and in civilization.

The first map would show but two grand political divis-

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ions, the Roman Empire and the Barbarians. On the second, the Barbarians have almost disappeared, and the Empire, while it has a nominal existence, is not at all what it was. In its stead and in the place of the Barbarians, there are many separate and independent states and different nations. One asks instinctively, What has become of the Empire? Where are the Barbarians? How did these new states arise? What is the origin of these new nationalities?

Evident changes; questions suggested thereby.

The linguistic changes suggested by the maps are quite as striking. Latin and Greek were the only languages in existence in Europe in the earlier time. The rude dialects of the Barbarians were not regarded as languages, and were unfit for literary purposes. In the sixteenth century Greek was spoken in a limited territory, and Latin had become the language of the educated only, while the barbarian tongues had been developed into literary languages.

Religiously, the changes are sweeping. At the beginning of the fourth century Europe was still prevailingly heathen. Christianity was widely spread, but its adherents were largely in the minority. In the sixteenth century, however, heathenism was nominally, at least, almost destroyed in Europe. In its stead we have Christianity in two great types, the Roman Catholic and the Greek, while a third new type, to be known as Protestantism, is about to be produced. Besides Christianity we find a part of Europe under the domination of Mohammedanism. How were the Barbarians of Europe Christianized? we ask. How were the different types of Christianity produced? What separated the Greek from the Latin Church? What was the origin of Mohammedanism? What are its tenets and character? How did it spread, and what has been its history? What influence has it had on Europe? And what have been the relations between Christianity and Mohammedanism?

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The changes in civilization are also radical. Territorially there has been great progress. Civilization has passed far beyond the Rhine and the Danube, and there are already indications that its centre is soon to be changed from the south to the north. Italy, Spain, and southern France were still in advance in the sixteenth century; but England, northern France, and Germany were showing the characteristics which should eventually enable them to assume the leadership in art, science, literature, manufactures, and in nearly all that goes to make up the highest and best civilization. They were to furnish the ideas that shall rule the world. Here, too, questions arise. What did the rest of Europe receive from Greece and Rome? How was this inheritance transmitted? How has it been increased and modified? How were the Barbarians influenced by the art, literature, architecture, law, customs, modes of thought, and life of the Greeks and Romans? What new ideas and fresh impulses have been given by the various barbarian peoples that have successively been brought in as factors in the progress and development of Europe?

General mention of important topics.

Empire. Papacy.

Nations and states.

The Middle Age is the birth-period of the modern states of Europe. We shall study the successive periods of decay and revival in the Empire; its ineffectual efforts to carry on the work of Rome in destroying the sense of difference in race, and to make all Europe one people; and its bitter struggle with its new rival, the Papacy, which ended practically in the destruction of both. We shall follow the Barbarians in their migrations and invasions, and watch them as they form new states and slowly learn of Rome the elements of civilization. We shall see them come to national self-consciousness, exhibiting all the signs of a proud sense of nationality, gradually but stubbornly resisting interference of both Emperor and Pope in their affairs, and, finally, throwing off all allegiance to both, becoming fully

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independent and acknowledging their responsibility to no power outside of themselves. Along with this national differentiation goes the development of the barbarian dialects into vigorous languages, each characteristic of the people to which it belongs.

We shall study the spread of Christianity, its ideals and institutions, Monasticism and the Papacy. The monks of the west played a most important part in Christianizing and civilizing the peoples of Europe, and the Bishops of Rome came to look upon themselves as the successors, not only of Peter, but also of the Cæsars, claiming all power, both spiritual and temporal. The Church is, therefore, a prominent factor in the history of the Middle Age.

The Church.

Mohammedanism was for some time a formidable opponent of Christianity even in Europe. It set for itself the task of conquering the world. It made many determined efforts to establish itself firmly in Europe. The Eastern Question was an old one, even in the Middle Age, and the invasions of the Mohammedans into Europe and the counter-invasions of the Christians (the Crusades) are all so many episodes in its history.

Mohammedanism.

By invading and settling in the Empire the Barbarians came under the schooling of the Romans. They destroyed much, but they also learned much. The elements of the Græco-Roman civilization were preserved; its art, laws, and ideas were slowly modified and adopted by the invading peoples. We shall see how this rich legacy was preserved and gradually made the property of all the peoples of Europe, and we shall study the progress which they have made in civilization.

Progress in civilization.

These are some of the problems with which the history of the Middle Age is concerned; they will be treated in their appropriate places. We shall first take a kind of inventory of their factors, and these are Europe (the land itself in its physical and climatic features), its peoples, and the Christian Church.

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CHAPTER I

EUROPE, ITS PEOPLES, AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

1. EUROPE. THE general contour of Europe has greatly influenced its history. It is, therefore, necessary to study its mountain systems, its plains, its coast and river systems, and its climate.

The influence of mountain ranges.

On the east, and coinciding in general with the boundary between Asia and Europe, are the Ural Mountains. They, with the Caucasus Range between the Black and Caspian Seas, form a barrier to easy communication between the east and the west, and so have forced travel and commerce, as well as invading peoples and armies, to follow certain well-defined routes. The Alps and the Pyrenees have served much the same purpose in the south. They have prevented the fusion of the peoples to the north with those to the south, and have made futile all the many attempts to bring and keep them under one government. They have played important parts in the differentiation, spread, and development of the various nations about them. Their passes being few and difficult, they have hindered intercourse and have prevented interference, and so each people has been left more exclusively to itself to work out its own character and destiny.

Even in the small physical divisions of Europe, mountains have done much to isolate and divide those whom everything else has sought to fuse and unite. They have helped perpetuate tribal and racial differences in Scandinavia, in Germany, in Austria, and especially in the Balkan Peninsula, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. There can be no

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doubt that the mountains of these countries still make the problems of their respective governments more difficult. They have been constant and efficient barriers to the formation of extensive states and governments in western Europe.

The plains of Europe.

On the other hand, the great central plains offer every opportunity for homogeneous development and for the formation of governments with extensive sway. Being adapted to the occupation of grazing, agriculture, and similar pursuits, they determined the earliest occupations of the people. So long as the number of inhabitants was small, their great extent favored the continued separation of the nomadic tribes that wandered over them; and with increasing population the peoples were more easily brought together and subjected to the influence of the same ideas, whether political, social, or religious.

Coast line and inland seas.

Turning to the study of its coast we note that Europe itself is almost a peninsula, and is besides deeply indented by arms of the sea, so that it has a large extent of coast line. Its two great inland seas offer, because of their calmness, excellent opportunities for the growth of commerce. It is not accidental that European commerce developed first, and had its chief seats, around the Mediterranean and the Baltic.

Rivers.

As if to facilitate communication, Europe is traversed from north to south by many rivers, which in the Middle Age were the highways of travel and traffic. By a short portage the Rhine and the rivers of France are connected with each other and with the Rhone and its tributaries; the Rhine, the Main, the Elbe, and the Oder, with the Danube; the Vistula, the Niemen, and the Duna, with the Dniester, the Dnieper, the Don, and the Volga. In this way nature has done much to promote intercourse in Europe. A radically different arrangement of the rivers of

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Europe would have affected its history in a corresponding way. Especially the districts about the mouths of the rivers were likely to be hastened in their development because of their greater opportunities for commerce and the advantages to be derived therefrom. The national existence of Portugal, Holland, and Belgium is due in some measure to the fact that they lie about the mouths of great rivers.

The climate of a country influences its people in many ways. Long and cold winters make the conditions of life in the north much more difficult than in the south, where nature does almost everything unaided. In this way the habits of the people, their dress, social life, and architecture, public as well as private, are greatly influenced by the widely varying climatic conditions that prevail in the various parts of Europe.

2. THE PEOPLES.

A. THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

In the third century the Roman Empire extended from the Atlantic in the west to the Euphrates in the east; from the Sahara in the south to the Danube, Main, and Rhine in the north. Britain also (the modern England) had been added to this territory. Since the beginning of the Christian Era, the boundaries of the Empire had not been greatly enlarged. The task of defending the frontiers rapidly becoming more difficult left successive Emperors little time to think of foreign conquests.

Its extent.

In the year 27 B.C. Octavius usurped the power by concentrating in himself the most important offices, which, up to this time, had been elective. He did not change their character, for the officers of the Republic, although elected, exercised absolute power, delegated to them by the state, during their term of office. According to Roman conceptions the power of the state was absolute; the highest ideal of the people was obedience, not liberty. This power the Emperor seized and vested in himself, though, in theory, it was regarded as simply delegated to him. He had it all—

The change from a Republic to an Empire.

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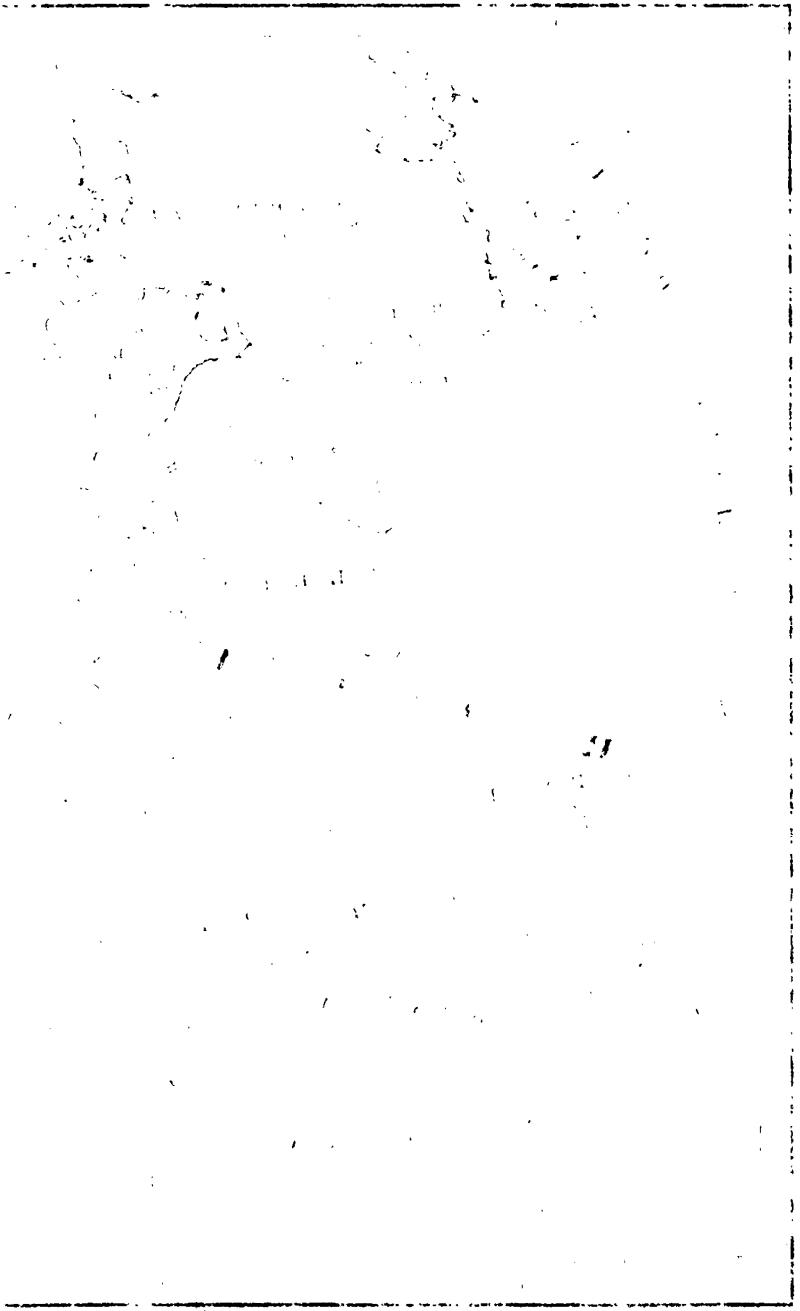

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military, judicial, legislative, executive, financial, and religious. The Senate's actual powers were gone. Though many forms of the Republic were still observed the Emperor was supreme. He was the state. Disobedience to his will was an offence against the majesty of the Roman people, and consequently punished with death. He was the head of the state religion with the title of Pontifex Maximus. He took on a sacred character, being worshipped while living and receiving the honors of apotheosis at his death. Temples and altars were erected to him, sacrifices offered in his name, and a rich ritual developed. An offence against his person was sacrilege, and hence a capital crime.

This change in the government was in many respects beneficial. The last years of the Republic had been filled with wars and seditions. The Emperor restored peace and order. He policed the Empire and made it safe. He put down brigandage and piracy. He compelled those who were over the provinces, to rule justly, and the cities received many favors at his hands. As legislators the earlier Emperors made excellent use of their powers, introducing a humane spirit into their laws. Up to this time the law had taken only men into account. Women, children, and slaves were almost without its protection. The Emperors forbade abortions and the exposure of children, gave wives and mothers more protection against the cruelty and caprice of their husbands, and mitigated in many ways the hard conditions of slaves. Illegitimate children and those of criminals were no longer compelled to share the heavy penalties visited upon their parents. The Emperors made less use of torture in the examination of witnesses, recognized the right of the accused to trial, and declared that it was worse to punish an innocent person than to let a guilty one escape.

The Influence of the earlier Emperors on legislation.

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Civilization.

The policy of Rome had been to Romanize her subjects. She endeavored to lift them all up to her level by giving them her civilization. This work the Emperors prosecuted with great zeal and success. In the year 215 A.D. Caracalla issued an edict making all the free inhabitants of the Empire citizens of Rome.

Religion.

The Republic had made shipwreck of its religious faith. Its last days had been godless and atheistic. The Emperors led and promoted an earnest revival in religion and morals, which in the course of the next three centuries became general among all classes. Under its influence, monotheistic ideas and conceptions became common, being supported also by the philosophy of the times. Such ideas as the unity of the human race and the brotherhood of man were not unknown, for philosophers, such as Seneca and Epictetus, taught them. It was a period, therefore, in which civilization made great progress and the conception of humanity grew broader and higher.

Comparative simplicity of the early Empire.

The Emperor was surrounded by a crowd of people who assisted him in the work of governing, but he was at first without a "court." His life was comparatively simple and free. During the first three centuries little change was made in the administration of the government. The cities were left undisturbed in the exercise of their liberties and local self-government. The provinces were ruled by officers of the Emperor. They represented him, and in his name commanded the troops, collected taxes, and administered justice. Many provinces had an annual assembly, or parliament, which, however, was in the hands of the Emperor and served him as a part of the machinery for administering the affairs of government.

A fatal mistake was made in that no law of succession was established. Theoretically the people of Rome were supposed to have the right to elect the Emperor, but prac-

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tically the army disposed of the imperial crown. Any one might aspire to be Emperor. For some time there was little trouble about the succession, but in the third century bloody contentions for the possession of the crown arose. From 180 to 284 A.D. there were over thirty actual Emperors, and more than that number of would-be usurpers. By acclamation the soldiers made their favorite general Emperor, or sold the crown to the highest bidder. Diocletian (284–305) endeavored to put an end to this by increasing the number of Emperors and surrounding each one with a court. According to his scheme there were to be two Emperors, one in the east and the other in the west. Each of these was to have an assistant called a Cæsar. The term of office was fixed at twenty years. At the end of this period the Emperors were to resign, and the Cæsars were to take their places as Emperors, and appoint other Cæsars as their assistants. To render the persons of the Emperors still safer, each was to have a court modelled after those of the east.

Diocletian's reform.

An Imperial Court established.

For the support of these courts large sums of money were necessary. Diocletian, therefore, reformed and extended the system of taxation and reduced the government to a bureaucratic form. In this process he destroyed local liberty and self-government, and so oppressed the people with taxes that the inevitable result was universal bankruptcy.

Ruinous taxation.

The reforms of Diocletian did away with the last traces of republican rule. The old titles of the various offices which Augustus had vested in himself as Emperor were now omitted. The Senate had no power at all. The Emperor was "Lord and God." Not only he, but his house, his bedchamber, and his treasury were regarded as sacred. His word was law. He was the living law on earth. He was the highest judge, and might, if he wished, call before him all cases. He was the source of law, judicial authority,

Diocletian the founder of the later Empire.

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and justice. The finances of the Empire were wholly in his hands. He assessed all taxes and tolls.

The Court.

The old prætorian guard was replaced by a guard of the palace and a body-guard. The Emperor had a council composed of some of his principal officers, which served him in all the work of governing. For the private and the public service of the Emperor there was a vast crowd of employees with the most various titles, arranged in groups, each under the control of an officer who was made directly responsible to the Emperor. A complete bureaucratic system was developed, which has served as model for more than one of the modern governments of Europe.

The Army became barbarian.

Under the Emperors the character of the army changed rapidly. Although great inducements were offered the volunteer it was difficult to keep the ranks of the legions full, and it soon became necessary to make drafts by force and to accept for military service even slaves, which the large land-owners were compelled to furnish in proportion to the value of their lands. The difficulties encountered by the state in such a method of procedure, and the poor quality of the soldiers thus obtained, led to the enrolment of Barbarians in ever-increasing numbers. Native troops were replaced by mercenaries, who were without patriotism and cared only for money. Intrigues, plunderings, revolts, and rebellion on the part of the army became frequent, and that which was supposed to be the protection of the Empire became its bane.

The people divided into classes.

The inhabitants of the Empire were divided into four classes—slaves, plebs, curiales, and senators. Within each of these four divisions there were various grades and shades of difference. The lot of the slaves was gradually growing better. In the country it now became customary to enroll

Slaves.

them, thus attaching them to the soil, from which they could not be separated, and with which they were bought

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and sold. Masters were forbidden to kill their slaves or to separate a slave from his wife and children.

To the class of plebs belonged all the free common people, whether small freeholders, tradesmen, laborers, or artisans. The freeholders were diminishing in numbers. Their lands were consumed by the taxes and they themselves either became serfs or ran away to the towns. The majority of the inhabitants of the cities and towns were free, but had no political rights. Plebs.

All who possessed twenty-five acres of land, or its equivalent, were regarded as "curiales." On these fell the burdens of office-holding and the taxes, for the collection of which they were made responsible. Curiales.

The ranks of the senatorial class were constantly increasing by the addition of all those who for any reason received the title of senator or who were appointed by the Emperor to one of the high offices. The honor was hereditary. The senators were the richest people of the Empire, having in their possession the most of the soil. As they enjoyed exceptional privileges and immunities, the lot of the curiales was made more grievous. Senators.

For the support of his army, his court, and the great number of clerks made necessary by the bureaucratic form of government, the Emperor had to have immense sums of money, for the purpose of raising which many kinds of taxes were introduced. Taxes were levied on both lands and persons; on all sorts of manufacturing industries; on heirs, when they came into possession of their estates; on slaves when set free; and on the amount of the sales made by merchants. Tolls were collected on the highways and at bridges, and duties at the city gates and in the harbors. Besides direct taxes, there were many kinds of special taxes, burdens, and services, such as food, clothing, and quarters for the army; horses and wagons for the imperial use when- Taxes.

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ever demanded; and repairing of the roads, bridges, and temples. Most oppressive of all, perhaps, was the dishonesty of the officers, who often exacted far more than even the very high sums which the Emperor required.

It was impossible that this should not bankrupt the Empire. The cities suffered most quickly. As the senatorial class, the army, professors of rhetoric, and the clergy were largely freed from taxation, the whole burden fell on the curiales, who became oppressors in order to collect the vast sums required of them. Finally, when they were exhausted, they attempted in every way to escape from their class. Some of them succeeded in rising into the senatorial ranks; many of them deserted their lands and became slaves, or entered the army or the Church. The Emperors tried to prevent this, and often seized the curial who had run away and compelled him to take up his old burden again. The curial was forbidden by law to try to change his position, but in spite of this many of them surrendered their lands to some rich neighbor and received them back on condition of the payment of certain taxes, and the rendering of certain services. This was a form of land tenure and social relation very similar to that common in feudalism of a later day.

Effects on the curiales.

B. THE KELTS.

In the fourth century A.D. the Kelts occupied Gaul (modern France) and the islands of Great Britain. Four or five hundred years before Christ, they had extended as far east as the Weser in the north, and occupied much territory in the centre of Europe. The Kelts were never all united in one great state, but existed in separate tribes. Each tribe formed a state and was governed by an aristocracy. The people had no part in the government, but were treated by the ruling class as slaves. The nobility was divided into two classes, the religious and the secular. The religious nobility were the Druids, a caste of priests who controlled all sacrifices, both public and private, and who were also

Tribal government.

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judges and final authorities in all other matters. Their word was law, and whoever refused them obedience was put under their ban, which had almost exactly the same meaning as the Papal ban a few centuries later. They had many gods, to whom they offered human sacrifices.[1]

The Kelts had large, strong, and beautiful bodies, as may be seen from the famous statue in Rome, "The Dying Gaul" (formerly known as the "Dying Gladiator"). They were brave, dashing warriors, fond of music, especially of the shrill martial kind, with which they went into battle. They were easily moved by fine speech and had a love for poetry. Their language was well developed and capable of expressing a wide range of thought and emotion. They loved bright and gay colors, and were noted for the liveliness rather than for the persistency of their feelings and emotions. They were restless, sprightly, full of activity, and capable of the greatest enthusiasm for, and devotion to, a popular leader, but they were fickle and unreliable if their ardor was once quenched by disaster. At the beginning of our period the Kelts who occupied Gaul and Britain (the present England) were thoroughly Romanized. To a great extent they had forgotten their language and spoke Latin. Many cities had sprung up which were well supplied with temples, baths, and theatres, and were in all respects thoroughly Roman. But the Kelts of Ireland, Wales, and Scotland were still barbarian, and hostile to Rome.

Keltic characteristics.

C. THE GERMANS.

At the beginning of our period the Germans occupied Scandinavia, and nearly all the land between the Rhine and the Vistula, and the Baltic and the Danube. Since the times of Cæsar and Tacitus many changes had taken place among them. Some of them had changed their location, new groups had been formed, and they were known by new

Their location.

[1] Cæsar, B. G., vi., 11-19, gives a good description of the Kelts.

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names. The Goths had left the Vistula and were now spread over a great stretch of territory to the north of the Black Sea and the lower Danube. Other tribes were moving or spreading out in the same direction. Great masses of Germans and other peoples were crowded together along the whole northern frontier of the Empire, and the danger of a barbarian invasion was rapidly growing greater.

Divisions.

Tacitus ("Germania," ii.) says that the Germans were divided into three great branches: the Ingævones, who lived nearest the ocean; the Hermiones, who lived in the "middle;" and the Istævones, who included all the rest. These three names had now been replaced by others, such as Franks, Suevi, and Saxons. Neither these nations nor those mentioned by Tacitus actually included all the Germans, forming rather the great division which may be called the West Germans. Besides these there were those of the north, afterward known as the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, and those of the east, the Goths, Vandals, and others.

Their government.

In their government they were democratic. They had a well-defined system of local self-government. There were three political divisions: the whole tribe, or nation; the Gau, or county (in England this was called the hundred); and the village. All matters that concerned only the village were discussed and settled by all the freemen of the village in a public meeting. Likewise the affairs of the Gau were administered by the freemen of the Gau, and matters that concerned the whole nation were decided by an assembly of all the freemen of the tribe. In social rank, there were three classes—nobles, freemen, and slaves. The nobles had certain advantages, but in the assemblies the vote of a freeman equalled that of a nobleman.

It was customary among the Germans for the young men to attach themselves to some man of tried courage and

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military ability (the comitatus or Gefolge), with whom they lived and whom they accompanied on all his expeditions. Such warrior chiefs were proud of having a large number of young men about them, for it added to their dignity and increased their power in many ways. The relation between a leader and a follower was entirely voluntary, and consequently honorable to both. It might be terminated whenever either party failed in his duties. Gefolge.

The religion of the Germans was a kind of nature worship, connected with various objects, such as groves, trees, and caves, and with natural phenomena. They had no priest caste. They lived by cattle-raising, agriculture, and hunting. The labor was performed principally by slaves and women. It was characteristic of them that they were unwilling to live in compactly built towns. Their houses were generally some distance apart, forming a straggling village. The Romans were impressed with the great size and power of their bodies, the ruddiness of their faces, and the light color of their hair. Religion and occupations.

They had some very prominent faults, such as a too great love of war, of the cup, and of the dice. They became so infatuated with gambling that, after losing all their property, they staked their wives and children, and if these were lost, they risked even their own liberty. The Germans boasted of their faithfulness to every obligation. So true were they to their word that if they lost their freedom in gambling they willingly yielded to their new master, and permitted themselves to be reduced to the position of slaves. Their qualities.

D. THE SLAVS.

The Slavs occupied a large belt of territory east of the Germans, and extended far into Russia. As the Germans withdrew to the west and south, the Slavs followed them and took possession of the land thus vacated. In this way they finally came as far west as the Elbe, and may be said to have held nearly all of the territory from the Elbe to the Their location.

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Dnieper. A large part of what is now Prussia, Saxony, and Bohemia became wholly Slavic.

The Slavs, as well as the Kelts and Germans, were broken up into many tribes having no political connection with each other. They seem to have had a patriarchal form of government. At any rate, great reverence was shown the old men of the tribe, who, by virtue of their age, had a controlling voice in the management of affairs. At first the Slavs probably had no nobility. They elected their leaders in war, and so strong was the democratic spirit among them that they were never able to produce a royal line.

Government.

Their religion was a low form of idolatry. They had priests, who were consulted on all matters, both political and religious. Though they had powerful frames and impressed the Romans with their size, they were tame and unwarlike, and have never been conquerors. Their location was favorable to the occupations of cattle-raising and agriculture. They did not possess a strong national feeling, but were easily assimilated by other peoples. Large numbers of them were Germanized from the ninth century on.

Character.

E. THE LETTS. In the ninth century still another Indo-European people came into history, the Letts, closely related to the Slavs, and whom we meet on the shore of the Baltic, from the Vistula to some distance beyond the Nieman. They were divided into Lithuanians and Prussians. It is curious to note that the name of this non-German people (the Prussians) has, in the process of time, come to be applied to the leading German state of to-day.

F. THE URAL-ALTAIC PEOPLES. Besides these Indo-European peoples which we have just discussed there were others, who are usually called Ural-Altaic or Finnic Turkish tribes. "Turanian" is also applied to them. They were to be found in northern Scandinavia and in the northern, northwestern, and eastern parts of Russia. They were the Finns, the Lapps, the Es-

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thonians, the Livonians, the Ugrians, the Tchuds, the Permians, the Magyars, the Huns, and many others. They were related to the Turkish Mongols. During the Middle Age, at least, they in no way advanced the interests of civilization, but rather played the part of a scourge—destroyers rather than builders.

The division followed above is linguistic. Philologists first discovered the similarity between the languages of the Greeks, the Romans, the Kelts, the Germans, the Slavs, the Letts, the Persians, and the ancient inhabitants of India, and on the basis of these resemblances, classed these peoples together as one great race. It was inferred that because their languages were akin the people themselves must have been of the same original stock. The modern science of Anthropology or Ethnology does not recognize the validity of such an argument, but declares that these peoples do not belong to the same race, although their languages are related. Ethnologists now use other tests, prominent among which are skull measurements, to discover the racial relations of peoples.

Basis of above classification philological, not recognized by ethnologists.

In the fourth century Christianity was well scattered over the Empire, and there were Christians even among the Barbarians. The Church beginning in Palestine as a brotherhood, had slowly developed an organization which at this time was fairly complete. It was modelling its government after that of the Roman Empire. Its clergy had much of what we might call "esprit de corps." The Christian Church, as a whole, was friendly to the Roman state, and desired that it might be preserved and perpetuated. This was due in part to certain commands in their sacred writings that they should honor the king and obey the powers that be, and in part, also, to the belief that so long as the Roman government should remain intact the "Antichrist" would not come.

3. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The Church friendly to the State.

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The State hostile to Christianity.

This friendly feeling of the Church was not reciprocated by the state. To the heathen the congregations of the Christians seemed to be secret societies, most of which were forbidden by the state because of their supposed political character, and Eastern religions were forbidden in the western part of the Empire. Christianity also was eastern in its origin. To be a Christian, therefore, was to be a criminal in the eyes of the law. It was impossible for the Christians to perform their duties as citizens, for all such duties were connected with idolatrous rites and practices; neither could they sacrifice to the gods or take any part in the great religious festivals and celebrations. In an age when nearly everything was attributed to the direct agency of the gods, it was unavoidable that the Christians, who despised the gods, should be blamed for all calamities. The result was that the Christians were persecuted and annoyed, more or less, for three hundred years. These persecutions were local, however, until 249 A.D., when Decius ordered the first general persecution. Even then the persecution did not extend over the whole Empire. In 303 A.D. the last great persecution was begun under Diocletian, though the responsibility for it is to be laid on his Cæsar, Galerius. After about eight years of struggle the first edict of toleration was published, in April, 311, making Christianity a legal religion.

Constantine and the Church.

It was the policy of Constantine to further Christianity. In 313 he released the Catholic clergy from many political duties which were ordinarily regarded as burdensome. In 315 he freed the Church from the payment of certain taxes. Probably in 316 he made legal the manumission of slaves which took place in churches. In 321 churches were granted the privilege of receiving legacies. In 323 he forbade the compulsory attendance of Christians at heathen worship and celebrations. Up to 323 the coins which he

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struck bore the images and inscriptions of various gods; after that time his coins had only allegorical emblems. But, on the other hand, Constantine never in any way limited or prohibited heathenism. He retained the office and performed the duties of Pontifex Maximus. In 321 he issued an edict commanding that officials should consult the Haruspices (soothsayers). After the year 326 he permitted a temple to be erected to himself, and allowed himself to be worshipped. After his death he was enrolled among the gods and received the title of Divus. It is evident from this that the famed conversion of Constantine was political rather than religious. His principal interest was centred in the unity of the Church, which he wished to use as a tool in the work of governing the Empire. He did not make Christianity the state religion; he merely made it a legal religion.

Gratian and Theodosius made Christianity the only legal religion.

The Emperors Gratian (375–383) and Theodosius (379–395) went one step farther and made orthodox Christianity the only legal religion. They withdrew state support from heathenism and restricted the heathen worship. They also persecuted all heresies, attempting to make citizenship depend upon orthodoxy. It is evident, therefore, that the Christian Church will be one of the most important factors in the history of the Middle Age. It might be said that the future belonged to the Church and to the Germans.

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CHAPTER II

THE MIGRATIONS OF THE NATIONS

ALTHOUGH more numerous than the invaders, the Roman Provincials were, for various reasons, unable to prevent these invasions. The frontier of the Empire was so extended that the army was no longer able to guard the whole of it, even if it had earnestly desired to do so. Having been deprived of a share in the government, the Provincials had lost their patriotism and warlike spirit, and no longer took an intelligent and enthusiastic interest in the affairs of state. They were cringing and spiritless, and in personal prowess no match for the Germans.

The Provincials without patriotism.

Causes of the migrations.

The causes of the migrations were often complex. Hunger, whether caused by the failure of crops, the rapid increase of population, or the devastations of war, sometimes compelled a tribe to seek a better location. The Germans knew something of the more favorable conditions of life in the south, and coveted the lands and property of the Romans. Occasionally a tribe was driven from its home by a more powerful invader.

The Goths on the Black Sea.

During the second century of our era the Goths left their home on the Vistula, moved slowly to the south, and settled in two groups on the Danube and the Black Sea. These groups, from their relative positions, came to be known as the East Goths and West Goths. During the next hundred years they made frequent invasions into the territory of the Empire, sacking many towns in Asia Minor and in the Balkan Peninsula, and carrying off much booty. In 262 A.D.

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they burnt the temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus. Several Emperors were compelled to fight them; Constantine finally put an end to their incursions, and succeeded in establishing peaceful relations with them. Under the influence of the Empire they took the first steps in civilization. They had commerce with the Romans, from whom they learned a system of weights and measures, and coinage. They became familiar with the Roman modes of life, dress, and customs. From Christian prisoners, merchants, exiles, and missionaries, they learned something of Christianity. A Gothic bishop from the Crimea was present at the Council of Nicæa (325). Ulfilas (311–81) was their most noted missionary. Of Gothic parentage, he spent several years at Constantinople, where he became a Christian of the Arian type. About 340, having reached the canonical age, he was ordained as a missionary bishop to the Goths. In order that the Goths might understand the Bible when read in the church services, he translated it into Gothic, having invented an alphabet for that purpose. After laboring with considerable success for a few years among the West Goths, he and his followers were persecuted, and, with the consent of the Emperor, they withdrew across the Danube and settled in Mœsia. The Christianization of the Goths, however, went steadily forward, till at the coming of the Huns both the East and the West Goths were nominally Christian.

Ulfilas.

The Gothic nation had been made up of a large number of separate and practically independent tribes (Gaue), each of which had its own leader, called Herzog or duke. Gradually some of these Gau leaders succeeded in uniting under themselves several Gaue and so took the title of king. Such kings made their appearance in the fourth century among both the East and West Goths, and during the period of migrations that followed, the kingship was developed among

The rise of kings.

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all the German tribes which moved and settled on Roman soil.

The coming of the Huns.

The Huns entered Europe about 372, and, after conquering the Slavs and other peoples whom they encountered, attacked the East Goths. Under rival kings the East Goths were broken into two great parties, one of which submitted to the Huns, while the other retreated toward the lower Danube. The West Goths were also divided. One body of them, under Athanarich, retreated into Transylvania, while the other, numbering about 100,000 persons, under Fritigern, obtained permission from the Emperor to cross the Danube and settle on Roman soil. They became fœderati of the Empire, retaining their arms, giving hostages, and agreeing to furnish a contingent of troops for the army. In return, they were to receive land and grain. The Roman officials so oppressed them that they were reduced to poverty, and in order to obtain sufficient food they were compelled to part with what was dearest to them, their arms, their wives, and their children. Stung to madness by such treatment the West Goths rose in revolt and ravaged the country. One division of the East Goths also crossed the Danube and assisted in the work of devastation. The Emperor Valens met them near Adrianople (378), but his army was routed and he was slain. Finally the Emperors Gratian and Theodosius, by wise concessions, pacified them, and the East Goths quietly withdrew into Pannonia, while the West Goths returned to the territory at first assigned them. At the same time Athanarich was persuaded to bring his West Goths from Transylvania and settle in the Empire, thus reuniting the West Goths again.

The West Goths in the Empire.

Till the death of Theodosius the West Goths kept the peace. They became discontented, however, because they felt that they were losing their nationality and being Romanized; their dependent relation to the Empire was also

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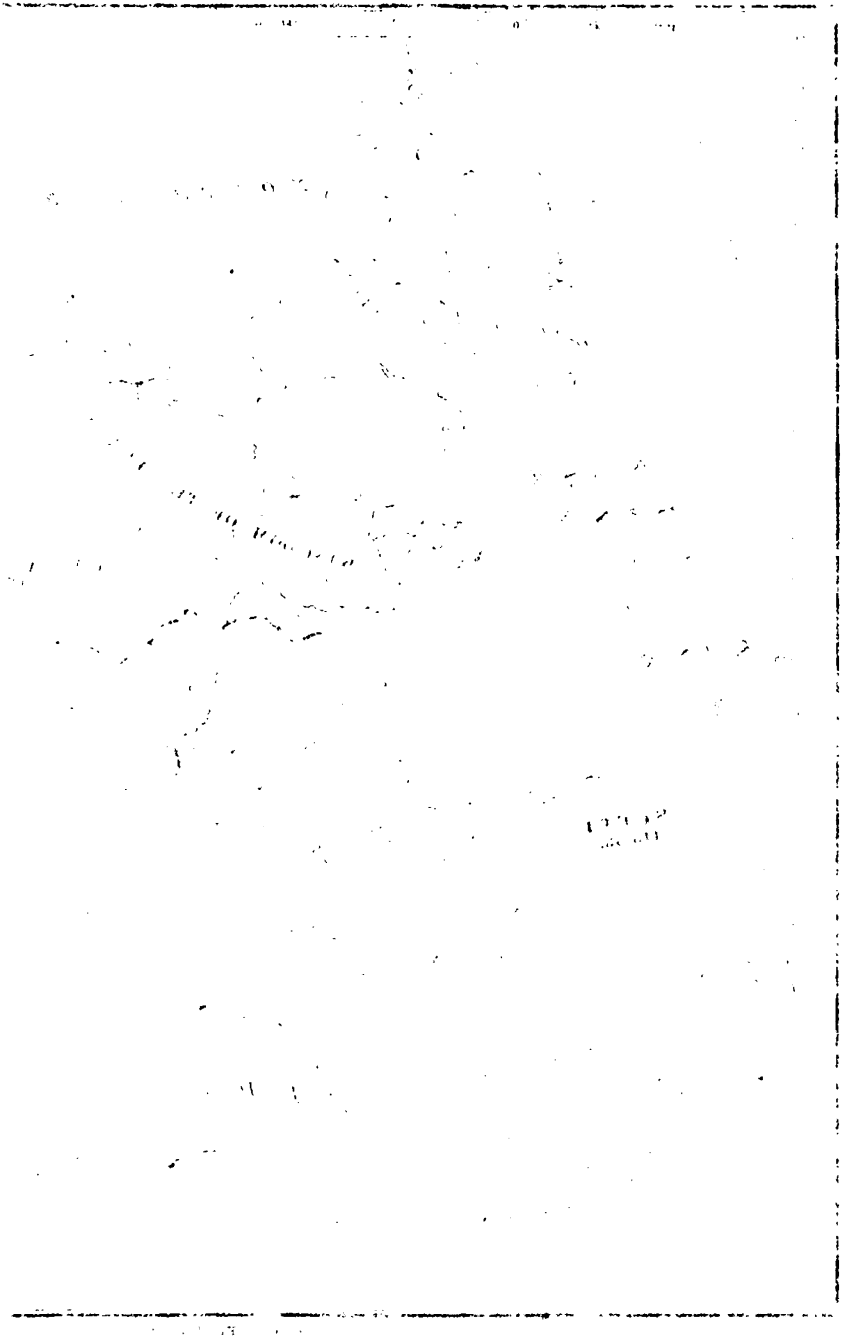

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After 507 the Kingdom of the West Goths in Ga

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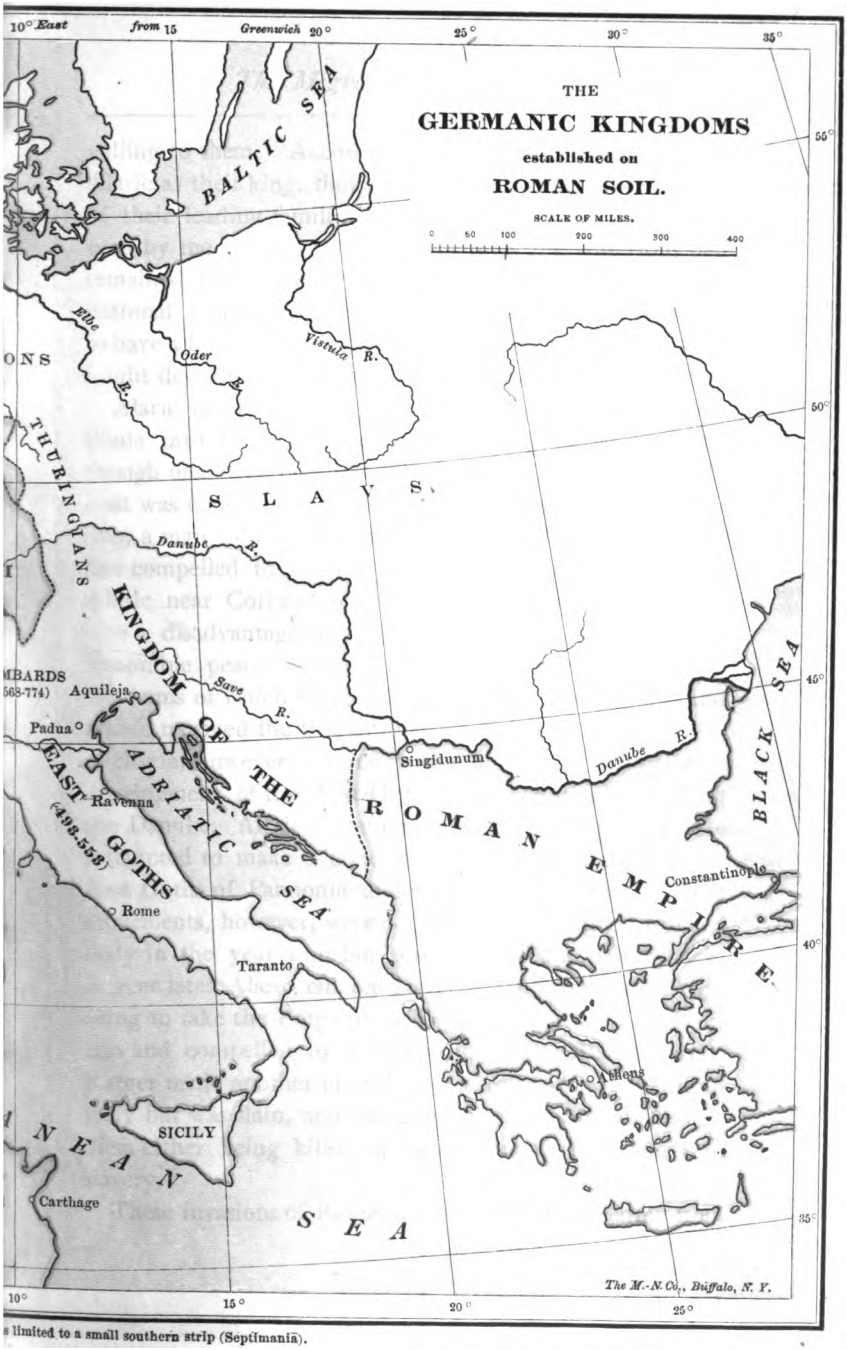

s limited to a small southern strip (Septimania).

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galling to them. Accordingly, in the year 395, choosing Alaric as their king, they revolted. Alaric was born of one of their leading families, and, although favored and honored by the Emperor, in his sympathies and ambitions had remained true to his people. He cherished the idea of national independence and liberty, and wished his people to have a home where, without losing their nationality, they might develop and make progress in civilization.

Alaric made king.

Alaric led his whole people through Thrace and Macedonia into Greece, devastating the country as he went, though unable to take the walled towns. The army in the west was commanded at this time by a Vandal named Stilicho, a man of the greatest ability. The Emperor was at last compelled to summon him to his aid. He overtook Alaric near Corinth, by skilful manœuvering drove him into a disadvantageous position, and then offered him an honorable peace. A treaty was made between them, by the terms of which Illyria was ceded to the West Goths and Alaric received the title of duke (398).

Illyria, however, was no better adapted to the national development of the West Goths than were the lands along the Danube. Alaric therefore prepared to move again. He attempted to make a concerted invasion of Italy with the East Goths of Pannonia under their king, Ratger. Their movements, however, were not well timed. Ratger reached Italy in the year 399, but was defeated and driven back. A year later Alaric entered Italy, and after vainly endeavoring to take the Emperor prisoner, was defeated by Stilicho and compelled to withdraw again into Illyria (403). Ratger made another unsuccessful attempt to join Alaric in Italy but was slain, and his great army destroyed, his soldiers either being killed or taken prisoner and sold into slavery.

East Goths and West Goths invade Italy.

These invasions of Ratger and Alaric drew the army from

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the Rhine, leaving that frontier unprotected. The Alani, a non-German people, the Vandals, and the Suevi, finding nothing to oppose them, crossed the Rhine on the ice during the winter of 406–7 and quickly overran the territory of Gaul, taking and sacking many towns. In 409 their advance guard had reached the Pyrenees and crossed into Spain. While Stilicho was engaged in the west with these invaders, Alaric moved his people from Illyria into Noricum and sent ambassadors to Stilicho to say that he would keep the peace if Noricum were given him with four thousand pounds of gold. Stilicho laid the matter before the Emperor and the Senate at Rome, and since resistance was impossible, they acceded to the demands of Alaric.

Vandals and Suevi invade Gaul, 406-7.

Alaric in Noricum.

Stilicho was the only man in the Empire whom Alaric feared. Although a Vandal, he was devoted to the royal family and served the Emperor faithfully. Through the intrigues of certain factions at the court, however, the Emperor was led to believe that Stilicho was a dangerous plotter, and had him seized and put to death. The death of Stilicho was the signal for another revolt (408) of the West Goths. Alaric demanded more money and the cession of Pannonia, and, as his demands were refused, promptly invaded Italy. Twice he besieged Rome, and twice, deceived by the false promises of the Emperor, was induced to raise the siege. But the third time he persisted. On August 23, 410, the city was delivered into his hands by the treachery of Gothic slaves, and was plundered by his troops. They did not greatly damage it, but the world was deeply shocked that its capital should become the spoil of Barbarians.

Death of Stilicho, 408.

Alaric sacks Rome, 410.

Alaric then moved to the south and prepared to invade Sicily and Africa. At Rhegium he collected a large fleet, which was destroyed by a storm. The winter coming on, Alaric pitched his camp near Cosenza, intending to renew

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the invasion the following year. A few days afterward, however, he was seized with the Italian fever, and died after a brief illness. Legend says that his grave was made in the bed of the river Busento by Roman slaves, who were then slain in order that his last resting-place might be unknown, and so be never desecrated. Alaric was probably the greatest of all the German leaders in the period of invasions. He kept alive in his people the idea of a free independent national existence. But for him they would have been assimilated to the people of the Empire.

Death of Alaric.

Alaric was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Athaulf, who who was in many respects his equal. Athaulf had already fallen in love with Placidia, the sister of the Emperor, who with her mother had been taken prisoner in Rome; and it was probably in part due to her influence that he gave up his hostile attitude toward the Emperor and made peace with him. Gaul and Spain were assigned Athaulf on condition that he should drive out the Alani, the Suevi, and Vandals, and put down the usurper Constantine. In 412 he led his people over the mountains into southern Gaul. Many of the Vandals and Suevi had already passed over into Spain. Athaulf quickly conquered southern Gaul as far as the Loire, and the northeastern part of Spain. In 414, at Narbonne, he married Placidia, who had been kept a prisoner by the West Goths. Orosius (vii., 43) has reported a saying of his which shows him in his true greatness. It had long been his desire, Athaulf is made to say, to destroy the power and name of Rome and establish in its place the kingdom of the Goths. The Roman Empire was to be replaced by Gothia. But he had, at length, seen that his people were too untamed to submit to the necessary laws and discipline of a state; and had chosen, therefore, to be rather the preserver of Rome than its destroyer. These words show him to have been a man of deep insight

Athaulf and Walia establish the kingdom of the West Goths.

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and excellent judgment. It was impossible, however, for him to keep peace with Honorius, who listened to the slanders of the intriguers at court. He revolted, and again set up as Emperor, Attalus, who was soon afterward taken prisoner and put to death by the forces of Honorius. Athaulf himself was murdered in 415, and was succeeded by Walia, who made peace with the Emperor. Walia carried on a bitter war against the Alani, Suevi, and Vandals. The Alani were wholly subjected, the Suevi pushed into the northwestern part of Spain, and the Vandals were driven to the south. He succeeded in establishing the kingdom of the West Goths on both sides of the Pyrenees, with Toulouse as his principal residence.

The Suevi in Northwestern Spain.

The West Goths become orthodox, are driven out of Gaul, conquered by the Mohammedans.

The kingdom of the West Goths (415–711) maintained its strength for many years. Many of its kings were able men, and ruled well. Since the West Goths were Barbarians, conquerors, and heretics, the orthodox Provincials refused to fuse with them. But in 586 Reccared, who had been brought up in the orthodox faith, ascended the throne, and, following his example, his subjects soon adopted the orthodox creed. The principal hindrance to the fusion of the two peoples was thereby removed. The king made the bishops his chief councillors, and his legislation and government were greatly influenced by the Church. The West Goths were slowly Romanized, and made progress in civilization. They were not, however, able to maintain themselves north of the Pyrenees. The Franks were extending themselves toward the south, and in the years 507–11 their king, Chlodwig, broke the power of the West Goths in Gaul and practically drove them beyond the Pyrenees. Realizing that their future must lie in Spain, they set themselves to conquer the whole of it. In 585 they overcame the Suevi, and till 711 remained masters of the peninsula. In that year the Mohammedans crossed the Strait of Gib-

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raltar and easily made an end of the West Gothic kingdom, only a small strip of territory along the southern slopes of the Pyrenees remaining in the hands of the Christians.

The Suevi took possession of all the northwestern part of Spain (419), and their kings took up their residence in the city of Braga. The Suevi played no important rôle in the history of the country. In 585 they were conquered and their kingdom incorporated by the West Goths. The Suevi.

The Vandals remained in southern Spain till 429, when they were invited by Boniface, the governor of the province of Africa, to come and assist him in his struggle against the Emperor. With his whole people, numbering about eighty thousand persons, Geiseric, their king, crossed into Africa, only to find that Boniface had made terms with the Emperor and did not need his services. After demanding and being refused his pay, Geiseric resorted to arms, and in about ten years had conquered and taken possession of the province of Africa. He made himself master of a fleet and quickly had all the islands of the western Mediterranean in his possession. He attacked the coast of Italy, and in 455 took and sacked Rome, carrying off as prisoner Eudoxia, the daughter of the Emperor Valentinian III. She was later married to his son and successor, Hunneric. Geiseric was a wily diplomat as well as an able commander. He often entered into diplomatic relations with the Emperors and also with Odovaker, and secured treaties with them, which confirmed him in his possession of Africa and the islands. Being an Arian, he bitterly harassed and persecuted the orthodox Roman Provincials. Fearing revolt, he dismantled the walls of all the important places except Carthage, where he himself resided. He died in 477, and was succeeded by his son Hunneric (477–84), who had all his father's vices without any of his virtues and ability. During his reign the The Vandals in Africa. King Geiseric.

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Moors regained much territory on the south. He made himself more odious than even his father by his persecutions of the Catholics, many of whom he put to death or mutilated.

End of the Vandal kingdom.

Under his successors the Vandal power steadily declined till 533, when the Emperor Justinian sent his general, Belisarius, with a small army into Africa. Belisarius easily put an end to the Vandal kingdom, and reduced Africa again to the position of a Roman province. Some of the Vandals perished in the war, the others either migrated or were fused with the population about them.

The Alamanni.

The Alamanni were composed of fragments of many German tribes who established themselves in the territory now known as the Black Forest and the northern part of Switzerland, where their dialect is still spoken in the rural districts. They also occupied the valleys of the Main and the Neckar. They were a loose confederation of tribes, each under its own king, without any central government. Their separate existence was cut short in 496, when they were conquered by the Franks.

The Burgundians.

The Burgundians left their home between the Oder and the Vistula about the middle of the third century, and in a few years we find them on the Rhine and the Main. The territory about Worms was granted them in 413. The scene of many parts of the Nibelungen Lied is laid in and about Worms, and the Lied contains the Burgundian traditions of that period. After various fortunes the Emperor's officer, Aetius, in 443, transferred them to the territory south of Lake Geneva on both sides of the Rhône, from which they extended their power, till, in 473, they had reached the Mediterranean. Gundobad (474–516), by putting two of his rivals to death and subordinating another to himself, became sole king. He received the title of Patricius from the Emperor, and was regarded as one of his officials. Roman

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scholars were gladly welcomed at his court, and the culture of the Empire found a home with him. For two reasons, however, the continued national existence of the Burgundians was impossible. They were Arian, while the Provincials, among whom they lived, were orthodox; and the Franks, who were rising in power, coveted their territory. After some ineffectual attempts the Franks conquered the Burgundians and made an end of their kingdom (534).

After taking possession of southeastern Europe in the last quarter of the fourth century, the course of the Huns to the west was temporarily checked. They seem not to have remained long united, but to have broken up into groups, some of which went into the service of the Empire. After awhile a new leader appeared in the person of Rugilas, who did much to bring them together again. At his death (435) he was succeeded by two nephews, Bleda and Attila, who ruled jointly till about 444, when Attila caused Bleda to be assassinated.

Attila and the Huns.

By diplomatic means, as well as by force, Attila united all the peoples, of whatever race, between the Volga and the Rhine. With an army composed largely of Huns and Germans he more than once ravaged the Eastern Empire, even crossing into Asia, carrying the war into Armenia, Syria, the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, and threatening Persia. Constantinople was in danger from him, and was compelled to pay a heavy ransom.

The Catalaunian Fields.

At length, in 450, he turned his attention to the west. With an immense army he crossed the Rhine, ravaged northern Gaul, and was moving toward the south when his march was stopped by the defence of Orleans. Aetius, the commander of the imperial army in the west, gathered together all the forces possible and went to assist the city. Attila withdrew to the "Catalaunian Fields" (the exact location of which is unknown), where he was defeated (451) in a

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great battle. He retreated to his capital in Pannonia, a village near the modern Tokai, on the Theiss river. The next summer he invaded and ravaged all northern Italy, but was compelled to retreat, because of the fever which broke out in his army and the approach of the army under Aetius. He died in 453, in a drunken stupor. The story of the embassy of the Bishop of Rome, Leo the Great, to Attila, is legendary.

Though a Barbarian, Attila was by no means a savage. He practised the arts of diplomacy, often sent and received embassies, and respected the international laws and customs which then existed. His residence presented a strong mixture of barbarism and luxury. His small wooden houses were filled with the rich plunder carried off in his many invasions of Roman territory. He despised Rome and her civilization, and hoped to erect an Empire of his own on her ruins. He had among his following several Greeks, through whose written accounts of him, his conquests, and his kingdom, he hoped to become immortal. At his death his Empire fell rapidly to pieces. His son, Ella, attempted to quell the revolting tribes, but lost his life in battle, 454. All the German and Slavic peoples which had obeyed Attila and added to his strength now became independent again.

Condition of Italy.

Before recounting the invasion of Italy by the East Goths, it is necessary to look at its condition. Ever since the establishment of the Empire, Rome had been steadily declining. Much of the prestige which had once been hers now belonged to the Emperor, because the power was in his hands. Constant wars on the frontier kept the Emperor from residing in Rome. Constantine recognized that the government could no longer be administered from Rome,

Constantinople.

so he chose Byzantium for his residence, fortified and beautified it, and gave it his name. It was apparent from the

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first that this was a wise choice. It lay on the confines of Asia and Europe, was convenient to the seats of war, Persia and the Danube, and was altogether a strategic position. Moreover, it was easily defended, being a natural stronghold. It commanded the sea, a fact of the utmost importance for both war and trade. Its beautiful curved harbor, the centre of the world's commerce during the Middle Age, has been properly called "the Golden Horn," because of its shape and the wealth it has brought to the city. As a residence of the Emperor in the east, Constantinople was without a rival.

The work of governing the Empire was too arduous for one man. After various attempts to solve this difficulty, it became customary to divide the government between two Emperors, one exercising authority in the east, the other in the west. At the death of Theodosius (395) his two sons succeeded him, Arcadius receiving the east, and Honorius the west. After a short time Honorius removed his court to Ravenna, a further step in the humiliation of Rome.

The government divided.

The fifth century was full of wars and anarchy. The Emperors were, for the most part, weak, profligate, vicious, and utterly regardless of the interests of the state. They did little to check the invasions of the Barbarians. The army, composed mostly of German mercenaries, plundered and pillaged the inhabitants as it pleased. Wishing to establish themselves, the soldiers demanded that one-third of the soil be given them. Romulus Augustulus was at this time Emperor, but his father, Orestes, was the power behind the throne. The demand of the troops was refused, whereupon Odovaker, a German of great courage and ability, put himself at the head of the mercenaries and took by force what had been denied them. Orestes was slain, and the little Emperor compelled to go before the senate and resign his

Odovaker.

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imperial dignity. At the command of Odovaker the senate, sending the imperial insignia and standards to Zeno, the Emperor in the east, informed him that there was no need of a western Emperor, since one Emperor was able to protect both the east and the west. They gave their consent to the removal of the capital from Rome to Constantinople and renounced the right of electing the Emperor, besides asking that the honorary and indefinite title of Patricius be conferred on Odovaker, and that he be invested with the administration of the government of Italy. In accordance with the hesitating policy of the eastern Emperors, the request was neither granted nor refused. Zeno rebuked them for some things, praised them for others, and treated Odovaker as Patricius without actually committing himself.

The Empire under one Emperor again, 476.

Odovaker, not in the least disturbed by this, assumed the title of Patricius and was called king of the combined Barbarians in Italy. He now gave one-third of the lands to his troops. He ruled Italy well, restoring the office of consul in Rome (482), and renewing and preserving the institutions and laws of the city. Theoretically his government was under the control of the eastern Emperor, but practically he was almost independent. He restored peace, enforced the laws, and gave Italy an excellent government, till, as prosperity was rapidly returning and Italy was beginning to recover from the long period of misrule and violence, his success led to his downfall. In 487 he attacked the Rugians in Pannonia, defeated them and carried off the son of their king Feletheus, Frederick, who, however, quickly made his escape, fled to the East Goths and begged their king Theoderic to avenge him.

Odovaker ruler in Italy.

Theoderic obtained Zeno's consent, couched in ambiguous terms, to invade Italy; and collecting his people, he set out in the autumn of 488, a year later entered Italy,

The East Goths invade Italy.

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and, defeating Odovaker, besieged him in Ravenna. After four years of struggle Theoderic and Odovaker agreed to divide the government of Italy between them; but a few days later Theoderic basely murdered Odovaker and took possession of the country (493). He preserved the Roman government as nearly intact as possible and used educated Romans as his officials, among whom Cassiodorus, Boëthius, and Symmachus were famous. Theoderic developed an activity of the widest range. He restored the aqueducts and the walls of many cities, repaired the roads, drained marshes, reopened mines, promoted commerce and agriculture, repaired public buildings, administered the strictest justice, preserved the peace, and enforced the laws. He gave Italy a new period of prosperity. Appreciating and admiring the Roman civilization, he nevertheless believed that it induced effeminacy, and was therefore unwilling that his Goths should have any part in it; the education of the schools and the use of the pen were for the Romans, the practice of war for his people.

The rule of Theoderic.

In religious matters he had a singularly clear mind. Although an Arian, he refused to persecute the orthodox, and gave the Jews protection against their Christian persecutors. He declared that no compulsion should be used in matters of faith, and that "to assume control over the beliefs and consciences of others was to usurp the prerogative of God." Toward the end of his reign he was guilty of persecution, though this was more for political than for religious reasons, Boëthius and Symmachus, two of his trusted officials, being put to death for what was supposed to be treasonable correspondence with the Emperor at Constantinople.

Religious freedom.

Toward his barbarian neighbors in the west Theoderic had what may be called a German policy. He felt that the future belonged to the Germans, if they would but unite and not destroy each other. Accordingly he at-

His "German" policy.

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tempted to bring them all into close alliance, hoping thereby to prevent all German wars.

His death in 526 was quickly followed by national disaster. Violence reigned under his weak successors, and Justinian made this an excuse for attacking them. His army invaded Italy, and after nearly twenty years of intermittent struggle, the kingdom of the East Goths was overthrown and Italy was made a province of the Empire.

Justinian destroys the East Gothic kingdom.

Around the lower Rhine there were several tribes, such as the Sugambri, Chamavi, Attuarii, Ampsivarii, Chatti, Teucteri, Bructeri, and others, who in some unknown way came to be called Franks. The most important divisions were the Salians, near the mouth of the Rhine, and the Ripuarians near Cologne. During the fourth and fifth centuries they gradually spread by conquest to the south. They were not yet united, there being several independent kings among them, each ruling over his own group or tribe.

The Franks.

About the middle of the fifth century a tribe of Salian Franks comes into notice under their king, Childeric. Several other kings are mentioned, among them, Meroveus, from whom the later dynasty takes its name; but these are probably legendary. At the death of Childeric, 481, his son, Chlodwig (Clovis, Louis, Ludwig), succeeded him and began a remarkable career of conquest which ended in the union of all the Franks under his sceptre. The kingdom of the Franks may be regarded as beginning with the accession of Chlodwig to the throne.

Chlodwig.

Besides the German tribes thus far mentioned, there were others still uninfluenced by the Romans, occupying territory outside of the Empire. Such were the Thuringians, the Bavarians, the Lombards, the Saxons, the Danes, and others, all of whom were yet to play an important part in the history of Europe. Still other once powerful tribes,

Other German tribes.

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among them the Gepidæ, the Herulians, and the Rugians, had either disappeared or were soon to disappear, worn out by the long struggle with each other or with Rome.

The territory between the mouth of the Rhine and the straits leading into the Baltic was occupied by several tribes, the most important of which were the Friesians, the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes. In the fifth century these peoples began to ravage the coast of Britain, and, probably in 449, made the beginning of a settlement on the coast of Kent. After a bitter struggle, which lasted nearly twenty-five years, the whole of Kent fell into the hands of the Jutes.

The invasions of Britain.

Almost all of the south shore, west of Kent, was seized by Saxons, who settled in groups known as the South Saxons, the West Saxons, and the Middle Saxons. There was also a settlement of Jutes on the Isle of Wight, and one in the neighborhood of Southampton. The East Saxons occupied the territory north of the mouth of the Thames. The district between the Stour and the Wash, now known as East Anglia, was seized by Angles, who were divided into two groups, the North Folk, and the South Folk. Other Angles made settlements all along the east coast, as far north as the Firth of Forth. Reënforcements were regularly received for a long time, and the invaders were engaged in constant warfare with the Romanized Kelts of the country, who were gradually driven back. In about two hundred years the Kelts were practically confined to Wales and Cornwall. Many of the Kelts who were driven out by the Saxons crossed over to Gaul and settled in the ancient Armorica, to which they gave the name of Brittany.

Saxons and Angles in Britain.

The Britons having been dispossessed, Brittany became the home of the Anglo-Saxons. The cities, with their Roman temples, baths, and public buildings, were for the most part deserted, and fell into decay; the roads were left to take care of themselves; Christianity was replaced by the

The change in Britain.

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worship of Woden and Thor. Instead of Latin and Keltic, only German dialects were spoken. The civilization which the Romans had introduced into the Island was destroyed and Brittany fell back into the barbarism of the German forests.

The various settlements made were entirely independent of each other and were ruled over by "kings." The number of kingdoms thus formed varied from time to time. There was constant warfare among them, and the leadership passed from one to another in rapid succession. Eventually the struggle was confined to the three strongest kingdoms, Northumbria, Mercia (the March or borderland), and Wessex, and victory finally fell to Ecgberht (802–39), the king of the West Saxons. He placed members of his own family over Kent, Sussex, and Essex, while Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia, acknowledging Ecgberht as their overlord, were allowed to retain their kings. Out of this overlordship was to be developed, within two hundred years, the kingship of all England.

Ecgberht, 802–39, Overlord of all England.

These Anglo-Saxons established in Britain a pure German state. The Roman civilization was gone; there was nothing to prevent their free development along the lines peculiar to themselves. Their Anglo-Saxon dialect developed into a literary language almost uninfluenced by Latin. It was spoken everywhere; as early as 680 Cædmon had sung the "Song of Creation" in his mother tongue, and parts, at least, of the heathen poem Beowulf were already in existence. The laws of the people, written down in Anglo-Saxon, not in Latin, as were the laws of all the Germanic kingdoms on the continent, show that the government, legal ideas, and customs, which the people had had on the continent had not been influenced by Rome and her civilization. As a result England has now the purest Germanic law of any country in existence—purer than in Germany

England remains German.

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itself, where, owing to the later connection between that country and the Empire, Roman law prevailed over the Germanic.

The Anglo-Saxons parcelled out their lands to groups probably of about a hundred warriors. The land which such a group received was then divided among them and they settled in villages. Their residences were called after the name of the family, with the addition of "-ham" or "-tun" (English, "home" and "town;" German, "Heim" and "Zaun"). "Ham" had the meaning of "dwelling," and "tun" signified the wall or fence which enclosed the village or place of defence. The affairs of each township were managed by all the freemen of the village, who met to discuss and decide all public matters. In the same way all the freemen of the Hundred met and determined all questions that concerned the welfare of the Hundred. A still higher court, composed of all the freemen of the whole tribe, was assembled whenever questions that concerned the whole tribe were to be decided or disputes between the Hundreds were to be settled. It is probable that it was early found to be impracticable to get all the freemen together as often as was desirable, and this led to the introduction of a kind of representation. A small number of men were sent from each township to the Hundredmoot, and the same number sent from each Hundred to the Folkmoot. The same social distinctions were perpetuated as had existed among them on the continent. There were three classes: the noblemen or ealdormen, the freemen or ceorls, and the slaves. The comitatus was, of course, quickly modified, the followers of a leader being called thanes as soon as they got lands and left the immediate presence of their leaders.

"Ham" and "tun."

Democratic government.

The Christianization of Ireland is veiled in obscurity, but it seems probable that St. Patrick (died in 465 or 493)

Christianity in Ireland.

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was the first missionary who met with very much success there. Under him the whole island became Christian, though it was in a low state of civilization, and in the next centuries won so great a reputation for its piety that it was called "The Isle of Saints." The Church of Ireland was independent of Rome, and differed in several respects from the Church on the continent, especially in matters of ritual and government (the time of celebrating Easter, the dress and tonsure of the monks, etc.). The type of Christianity established there was thoroughly ascetic and monastic. The ascetic zeal of the Irish for the Church led them to try to convert the world to their form of Christianity. It was not so much what is now called the "missionary spirit," as the desire to undergo hardships of all kinds. To travel in foreign lands as a missionary (*peregrinare pro Christo*) was, because of its difficulties, a meritorious work. In accordance with their ascetic ideas, they settled not in the cities but in the wilds. Their first settlements were in Scotland. In 563 St. Columba (or St. Columbcille) sailed with twelve fellow-monks to Scotland, where the island of Iona was given them, from which, occasionally reënforced by other monks from Ireland, they carried on their work on the mainland. They labored not only in Scotland, but also among the Anglo-Saxons of Britain and on the continent. Lindisfarne, on the east coast of England, was occupied by them, and for a long time was a centre of missionary activity among the Angles.

Irish Missionaries.

On his accession Oswald (634–42), king of Northumbria, having once been sheltered in the monastery of Iona, sent to its abbot for missionaries. St. Aidan, and after him, St. Cuthbert, met with great success, and it seemed for some time that the Church of Ireland would extend itself over the whole of Great Britain. But there was another stream of missionary activity beginning to move to the west which

Orthodox Missionaries among the Anglo-Saxons.

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had its source in Rome. In 596 Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, sent a monk, Augustine, with about thirty companions, to Kent. Aethelberht, king of Kent, had recently married Bertha, an orthodox Frankish princess, who now exerted all her influence in favor of the missionaries, and within a year the king, and many of his nobles, accepted Christianity and were baptized.

From Kent the orthodox form spread slowly to the north, constantly nearing the boundaries of the Irish faith. Finally they met face to face in Northumbria. A bitter struggle arose; the king called a council at Whitby (664) to discuss the questions at issue between them, and there decided to follow the faith and party of the orthodox Church. The decision brought England into close connection with the continent, especially with the Bishop of Rome, assured the influence of Rome, and so affected all the future of English history. Roman legal ideas, usages, and modes of thought, in short, the remains of Rome's civilization, were imported into England, greatly to her advantage. Later the advantages were to become smaller and the disadvantages very much greater; but for the present it was highly beneficial to England.

The Council of Whitby, 664.

Theodore of Tarsus, a learned Greek, came to England as Archbishop of Canterbury (669–90), and by virtue of his high position organized the English Church around Canterbury as the centre and head. He divided all the territory into bishoprics, and introduced the parish system. The whole was bound to the Bishop of Rome. The church organization did not follow the boundaries of the kingdoms, but all were impressed with the fact that the Church was one and could recognize no political or national lines. The idea of the unity of the Church had great influence on the political ideas, and helped prepare the minds of the people for the idea of the political unity of the whole country.

One Church, one kingdom.

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Monasticism and learning. Bede.

The learning of the monks of England was considerable. While Greek was utterly unknown in the west of Europe, it was mastered by some of the pupils of Theodore. The monasteries contained many monks who were excellent scholars. Most famous of all was Bede, known as the Venerable Bede (673–735), a monk of Jarrow. He had for his pupils the six hundred monks of that monastery, besides the many strangers who came to hear him. He gradually mastered all the learning of his day, and left at his death forty-five volumes of his writings, the most important of which are, "The Ecclesiastical History of the English," and his translation of the Gospel of John into English. His writings were widely known and recognized throughout Europe. He reckoned all dates from the birth of Christ, and through his works the use of the Christian Era became common in Europe. Owing to the large number of monasteries and monks in Northumbria, that part of England was far in advance of the south in civilization.

Of all the kingdoms whose beginnings we have thus far traced, only two, those of the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons, were to survive the dangers which beset their existence and to become powerful states; all the others lost their political independence, and were either destroyed or absorbed by the peoples among whom they had settled.

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CHAPTER III

THE REACTION OF THE EMPIRE AGAINST THE GERMANS

ALTHOUGH there was more or less friendly intercourse between the various Germanic kingdoms and the court of Constantinople, the situation was far from pleasing to the Emperor. The Barbarians had invaded his territory; they were unwelcome guests whom he must entertain because he did not have the power to drive them out. Of this weakness they took advantage, and ruled with such independence that their lands were practically cut off from the Empire. Such a loss of territory was regarded as a great disgrace, which could be removed only by the reconquest of the lost provinces. In an absolute government everything depends on the ability of the monarch. The anarchy and violence of the fourth and fifth centuries were possible because of the weak Emperors and the internal feuds and dissensions. The weak rulers of these centuries were followed by a succession of able men, chief of whom was Justinian. In him the reaction against the Germans reached its highest point. Under Zeno (474–91), Anastasius I. (491–518), and Justin I. (518–27), the Empire slowly gathered strength, and the way was prepared for the brilliant activity of Justinian (527–65). The long period of helplessness and weakness was followed by a great revival of strength, in which the palmy days of the Empire seemed to return. The imperial arms were again victorious, and large parts of the lost territory were reconquered and again united to the Empire.

The Germans were invaders.

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Justinian.

Justinian's claim to the title Great rests on his versatility and cleverness. His interests were of the widest range. He was interested in building and architecture, in law and theology, in commerce and manufactures, in war, diplomacy, and the art of governing. He was able to select men of ability to fill the highest positions and to work for him; he was inflexible in will and persisted with the greatest determination in a policy which he had once adopted.

Codification of Roman law.

His attention was called to the condition of the laws. They had never yet been collected and thoroughly sifted and codified. There were many inconsistencies and contradictions among them; consequently the administration of justice was very difficult. Justinian appointed a commission, with Tribonian at its head, to collect, harmonize, and arrange the laws of the Empire. This was done in such a way that all earlier collections were made useless, and hence the most of them were soon destroyed. The laws themselves were gathered into one collection which has ever since been called the Codex of Justinian. Tribonian seems to have used the utmost freedom in its treatment of the text of the laws. Many changes were made in order to reduce them to harmony. Besides the laws, the opinions, explanations, and decisions of famous judges and lawyers were collected. As in the practice of law to-day, much regard was had for precedent and decisions in similar cases, and these were brought together from all quarters in a collection called the Pandects. For the use of the law students, a treatise on the general principles of Roman law was prepared, which was called the Institutes. Justinian himself carefully kept the laws which he promulgated, and afterward published them under the title of "Novellæ."

Immense sums of money were necessary to carry on the work which Justinian wished to do. The churches he built, the most famous of which is St. Sophia; the walls and nu-

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merous forts with which he sought to protect the Empire; the fraud practised in the administration of the army and in the collection of the taxes; Justinian's lavish personal expenditures and the extravagance of the court so increased the taxes that the financial ruin of the people was only a question of time. **Taxation.**

Under Justinian Byzantine art took on its final form. A fixed style of church architecture was developed, the principal characteristics of which are the cupola and the round arch. The churches were decorated with mosaics and paintings. In painting, also, certain types were accepted and forms established which became orthodox, and from which the Church would suffer no variation. These types and forms therefore existed for centuries without any change. In fact they are still observed and practised in the religious art of Russia and Greece. **Byzantine art.**

Justinian regarded himself as the final authority in all Church matters, both in doctrine and in polity. He himself was orthodox, and believed that it was the duty of the state to destroy heresy. Heretics were persecuted and deprived of the rights of citizenship. He treated the Bishops of Rome as his officials. When they displeased him, he ordered them to come to Constantinople, and he reprimanded, imprisoned, and even deposed and exiled them, as it seemed best to him. What may be called "home mission work" was carried on by the clergy at the command of Justinian. There were still large numbers of pagans in the Empire. Nearly all the peasants were pagan, and even in Constantinople there were many to be found. These were sought out and forced to accept Christianity or suffer persecution. Many were mutilated and their goods seized. **Justinian and the Church.**

The greatest university of the world was, in this period, at Athens. Its professors were wholly pagan. So great **The University at Athens.**

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was its fame, however, that even the Christian youth were sent there to be educated. Some of the greatest of the Church fathers were trained in that university. In 529 Justinian closed the schools of Athens, and forbade heathen philosophers to teach. They were practically exiled. Many of them fled to Persia, where they hoped to find the fullest liberty. In this they were disappointed, and after enduring persecutions there, they returned to the west.

The worst foes of the Emperor were the people of Constantinople, who, because of their turbulence, kept him constantly in fear of a rebellion and rendered it impossible for him to give his undivided attention to the affairs of state. There were two great factions in the capital, each of which had its partisans throughout the Empire. These factions were divided on all questions, both political and religious. Their most common place of meeting was the circus, where each party railed at the other and endeavored to win the favor and the patronage of the Emperor. From the colors of the charioteers in the races the factions were known as the "Greens" and the "Blues." The Blues were orthodox and devoted to the house of Justinian, while the Greens were heterodox and secretly attached to the family of Anastasius.

Factions in Constantinople.

Probably religious differences were the cause of the deepest hatred and at the bottom of all the trouble, although ambition played a prominent part in it. During the long period in which Christianity was fusing with the philosophy of the Greeks, and the dogmas of the Church were being developed in accordance therewith (that is, during the first eight centuries, although the highest activity was reached from the third to the sixth century), the Greek intellectual world was in a state of the greatest fermentation and discussion. Even the humblest would have his say about the highest questions, and the greengrocer, the bar-

Discussion of theological questions.

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ber, and the cobbler were more interested in discussing metaphysical questions with their customers than in serving them.[1] The questions at issue were purely speculative in regard to the person of Jesus and his relation to God. Arianism declared that Jesus was not God, and had not existed eternally but had been created. He occupied, however, a much higher place than man. Orthodoxy was content with no other form of statement than one which would declare that Jesus "was the Son of God, begotten of the Father, before all the world, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father." Furthermore, if Jesus was God, how was he at the same time man? What kind of body did he have? Did he have two natures, the divine and the human? How were these united? Did he have two wills, one the divine will, the other human? What was the relation between them? These and other similar questions were discussed, not only in the church councils, but at the court, in the streets, in the places of business, and, indeed, wherever people came together. Their discussion and study absorbed the attention of the best talent of the day. Still worse, they were fused with politics, and every political question was at the same time a religious one. It was inevitable that such a combination should add to the mutual hatred, intrigue, and treachery. Though Justinian's ambition made it impossible for him to submit tamely to the tyranny of these factions, for some years he found no means of overcoming them, and was compelled to suffer many indignities at their hands. In 532, however, in consequence of a riot, Justinian seized some of the leaders of both factions and ordered them to be put to

Theology and politics.

[1] Gibbon, chap. xxvii., quotes from Jortin a paraphrase of a passage in Gregory of Nyssa's Sermon on the Divinity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

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death. But two of them were rescued by the people, and both parties, choosing Hypatus Emperor, united against Justinian, who lost courage and would have fled but for the persuasions of the Empress Theodora. The imperial guard under Belisarius was sent to attack the rioters, who had taken possession of the circus. The mob were taken off their guard. Belisarius put thousands to death, among them all the leaders, and the power of the factions was broken. The city was now helpless in the Emperor's hands, and he was consequently free to turn his attention to the larger policy on which he had already set his heart.

The factions destroyed.

This policy was to recover all the lost provinces and restore the Empire in all its extent. This necessitated the destruction of the German kingdoms, and Justinian turned his attention to the west. An account of his conquest of the Vandals in Africa and of the East Goths in Italy has already been given. He also attacked the West Goths in Spain (551), but was successful only in gaining a few places on the coast. By his intrigues, the German tribes north of the Danube, such as the Lombards, Gepidæ, and Heruli, were kept at war with each other. But Justinian's anti-German policy was destined to fail because he was distracted from it by the wars which he was compelled to wage with the Persians, the Slavs, the Avars, and the Bulgarians. Persia, under its great king, Chosroes I. (531–79), was at the height of its power, and Justinian was not able to cope successfully with this hereditary foe. His victory over the East Goths was delayed more than once, because he was compelled to use all his forces in the East, but in spite of his exertions he was defeated by the Persians, compelled to pay tribute, and to surrender some of his territory in the East. The Slavs also interfered with Justinian's plans. As the Germans deserted the territory south of the Baltic, the Slavs followed them and took pos-

The Emperor's anti-German policy.

Unsuccessful in his plans.

Persia.

The Slavs.

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session of all the land as far west as the Elbe. They followed hard upon the heels of the withdrawing Bavarians, occupying Bohemia, Moravia, and many parts of modern Austria. More than once they crossed the Danube, ravaged the provinces, and even threatened Constantinople. They pressed into the Balkan Peninsula and made settlements, which have grown into the modern Bosnia, Dalmatia, Servia, and other Slavic principalities now subject either to Turkey or Austria. A little later they colonized Greece. The Peloponnesus was so completely occupied by them that it came to be called Slavonia.

The Bulgarians.

The Bulgarians were originally a Ural-Altaic people, but they came into Europe, settled among some Slavic tribes, and were absorbed by them. Nothing was left but their name, which came to be applied to the Slavs with whom they had fused. They lost their language, customs, and nationality, and became thoroughly Slavic. Year after year this mixed people invaded the Empire and devastated many of its fairest districts. It was not till about 680 that they settled in the territory which they now occupy.

The Avars.

In 558 the Avars (the Cotrigur Huns) invaded the Empire from the east. After doing much damage they finally established on the middle Danube the kingdom of the Avars, which later was destroyed by Karl the Great.

New German tribes.

Luckily at the very time of Justinian's opposition to it, the Germanic element in the Empire was strengthened by the formation of the great tribe of the Bavarians, the settlement of the Lombards in Italy, and the growth of the Franks (which latter will be described in the succeeding chapter).

Some German tribes known as the Marcomanni had at one time occupied Bohemia, Bajabemum, from which they received the name Bavarians (Bajavarii, men of Bohemia).

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Shortly after 487 they left Bohemia and took possession of the territory which now bears their name and from which they were never afterward removed.

After various wanderings the Lombards had settled in Pannonia. They had become allies of the Empire, and at the instigation of Justinian had made war on the Heruli, and then on the Gepidæ. Justinian had feared them, but did not live to see their invasion. After his successful completion of the war with the East Goths, Narses had been made Exarch of Italy, with his residence at Ravenna. To avenge his ill-treatment at the hands of Justin II., the successor of Justinian, he is said to have invited the Lombards to invade Italy, promising not to interfere with them. They came under their king Alboin (568), bringing fragments of other tribes with them. They occupied northern Italy, and Pavia became their capital. They then moved to the south, and, after overrunning a large part of Italy, established the duchies of Benevento and Spoleto. Alboin was soon murdered, and a leader named Cleph was made king. Cleph ruled less than a year, meeting with the same fate as his predecessor. For about ten years the Lombards, broken up into bands and groups, each under a duke or Herzog, existed without a king. The kingship was not yet thoroughly developed among them, and they felt that a king was not necessary to their existence. They consequently reverted to the forms of government which they had had before entering the Empire. It is said that there were thirty-five such dukes reigning among them at one time. They were surrounded by enemies, and their divided condition was a cause of great weakness. About 580 they became convinced that they needed a king and elected Authari; but the dukes had already become too powerful and Authari was never completely master. The duchies of Benevento and Spoleto were only nominally obedient.

The Lombards in Italy.

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The territory wrested from the Empire was firmly held, but the Lombards could not conquer all Italy. Ravenna, the extreme southern part, and the duchy of Rome still remained in the hands of the Emperor. Unlike all the other Germans, many of the Lombards settled in the cities and towns. Some of the land was seized, but often the Lombards required one-third of the produce of the land to be paid to them. The old Roman municipal form of government was destroyed, or thoroughly changed, and the Romans were compelled to live according to the laws of the Lombards. Their urban residence undoubtedly had much to do with the early development of the Italian cities, the mediæval grandeur of which was due, in part at least, to the German blood of their citizens.

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CHAPTER IV

THE FRANKS (481–814)

The reign of Chlodwig (481–511).

In 481 Chlodwig became king of a small tribe of Salian Franks. By force or fraud he overcame, one after another, all the petty kings about him, and slowly gathered the many Frankish tribes under his sceptre. In 486 he defeated Syagrius, the Roman official who was then governing a large district between the Loire and the Seine, and this territory was made subject to Chlodwig, who thus extended his power to the Loire. In 496 he conquered the kingdom of the Alamanni, and in consequence of his victory accepted the orthodox form of Christianity and was baptized with a large number of his people. The bishop of Rheims, who performed the rite, addressed him as a second Constantine, and told him it was his duty to protect, defend, and extend the Church. This conversion of Chlodwig and the Franks to the orthodox faith was the foundation and beginning of the famous alliance between the Bishops of Rome and the Frankish kings, which, with interruptions, lasted for centuries, and profoundly modified the course of events.

The Frankish kingdom divided.

Chlodwig continued his conquests by depriving the West Goths of nearly all their territory north of the Pyrenees. When he died, in 511, he divided his kingdom among his four sons, who, in spite of frequent civil wars, were able to extend their boundaries. In 531 Thuringia was acquired; in 534 Burgundy was added to their possessions; and in 555 Bavaria was reduced to subjection.

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All this territory was united under Chlothar (558–61), only to be again divided among his four sons at his death; but neither was this division permanent. The Franks in the west were slowly yielding to Roman influences, and were becoming separated from the Franks in the east, who still remained more thoroughly German and warlike. The fact that the two districts were under different kings, who were for many years hostile to each other, helped increase and perpetuate the differences between them, so that they received different names and were regarded as different kingdoms. The eastern part was called Austrasia, and the western Neustria. During the last half of the sixth century these two kingdoms were disturbed by civil wars, the leading spirits in which were the rival queens Fredegonda and Brunhilda.

Austrasia and Neustria.

Since the days of Chlodwig an important office had been developed at the court of the Frankish kings. As the king grew in power and importance, his household increased accordingly. Over this household he placed a chief servant, who was responsible for its management, called major domus, or mayor of the palace. This office, at first servile, soon took on a political character. The major domus always had the ear of the king; all access to the king was through him; his influence was therefore great. Gradually he became the king's intimate adviser, and the original character of his office disappeared. It must be noted, too, that there was a major domus in each kingdom. The nobles early tried to control the appointment of the major domus, unsuccessfully, however, till a mere child succeeded to the throne of Austrasia, when the nobles got possession of the boy and appointed one of their own number major domus and regent. Since the king was a child, the major domus had every opportunity to increase his own power, and the king was never again his own master.

The major domus.

The nobility obtains control of the office.

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Dagobert.

Dagobert, who was king over all the Franks (628–38), was the last to enjoy any great amount of independent authority. After him there came the Do-Nothing kings, who had no share in the government and were kept only as figure-heads. The major domus exercised royal authority without having the royal name. At the death of Dagobert the office of major domus in Austrasia became hereditary in the family of Pippin the elder. This Pippin was the lord of two estates, known as Landen and Heristhal. Arnulf, bishop of Metz, was married, as were many of the clergy of that day, and his son Ansegisil married the daughter of Pippin. From this union sprang the line known (from their most splendid representative, Karl the Great) as the Karlings. Pippin passed his office of major domus on to his son Grimoald, who lost his life in an attempt to usurp the title of king for his son. The people were too much attached to their royal house, and the nobles were too jealous of Grimoald, to permit this change.

Union of the families of Pippin and Arnulf.

Pippin of Heristhal major domus (687–714).

Pippin the Younger, or Pippin of Heristhal, as he is called, seized the office of major domus and practically ruled Austrasia. After a long war he made himself master of Neustria also (687–714), thus ruling over the whole Frankland. He began a policy which was to be followed by his successors and to bear its legitimate fruit in the kingdom of Karl the Great. He strove to consolidate his vast territories; to bring them under one central government; to render this government as nearly absolute as possible, and to make the people of his kingdom homogeneous. His son, Karl Martel, who succeeded him (714–41), continued his work. His reign was full of wars, because, whenever an opportunity was given, some part of the kingdom revolted. One after another, the Friesians, the Neustrians, the Thuringians, the Bavarians, the Alamanni, and the people of Aquitaine rebelled, only to be put

Karl Martel (714–41).

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down by arms. The Mohammedans invaded Frankland from Spain (720), but Karl Martel met them at Tours and so completely broke their power (732) that they were never able to establish themselves north of the Pyrenees.

The battle of Tours (732).

Before Karl Martel died he divided the power between his two sons, Karlman and Pippin. The brothers ruled together harmoniously till Karlman resigned and went into a monastery, leaving Pippin sole major domus. Deeming that the time was now ripe, Pippin laid his plans for obtaining the royal title. He sent an embassy to Rome to ask Pope Zacharias which should be king, the one who had the title without the power, or the one who had the power without the title. Since the Pope was looking abroad for an ally, he replied that it seemed to him that the one who had the power should also be king; and acting on this, Pippin called an assembly of his nobles at Soissons (751), deposed the last phantom king of the Merovingian line, and was himself elected and anointed king.

Pippin becomes king (751).

Pippin's invasions of Lombardy and his service to the oppressed Papacy will be described later. Before his death (768) he divided his kingdom between his two sons, Karlman and Karl—bitter enemies—and civil war was averted only by the death of Karlman (771).

Karl the Great (768–814).

The quarrel between the Pope and the Lombards broke out again, and as Karl had a private grudge against the latter, he was easily persuaded to interfere on behalf of the Pope. He invaded Lombardy, conquered its king, Desiderius, and made himself king of the Lombards. He then renewed the gift of his father, Pippin, to the Pope. The conquest of the Lombards was of great importance because it brought Karl into close relations with Italy and the Papacy.

Karl conquers the Lombards.

Equally important for other reasons was the subjugation of the Saxons. For more than thirty years (772–804) Karl

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The Saxon wars.

was engaged in fighting them. Year after year he overran their territory and received their submission and their promise to accept Christianity; but as soon as he withdrew his army they would revolt, destroy the churches, slay the Christian priests, and revert to heathenism. At last Karl wore them out and they submitted to his rule. He divided the land into bishoprics and established bishops at Minden, Paderborn, Verden, Bremen, Osnabrueck, and Halberstadt. These places quickly grew into towns and became centres of life and civilization. Roads were built to connect them to facilitate travel and trade.

Karl's other conquests.

Karl's reign was one long campaign. Revolts in Bavaria called him into that duchy several times, and in 787 he removed its duke and placed it under counts of his own appointment. It required several campaigns to destroy the kingdom of the Avars on the middle Danube. The Slavs between the Elbe and the Oder were subjugated by Karl, and Bohemia was compelled to pay him tribute. Toward the end of his reign the Norsemen troubled the northern frontier. The Mohammedans in Spain Karl drove beyond the Ebro, and his fleets contended with the naval forces of the Mohammedans on the Mediterranean Sea for the possession of Sardinia, Corsica, and other islands. In the south of Italy his troops even came into conflict with the army of the Greek Emperor, but there was little fighting between them. Fortunate in all his wars, Karl succeeded in extending his boundaries in all directions. It was this series of splendid conquests which laid the foundations for the renewal of the Empire and the imperial title in the west.

The idea of a world Empire.

The west, as we have seen, had for a long time been practically separated from the Empire. Yet the idea still prevailed that there must be an Empire; that it was necessary to the existing order of things; that without an Em-

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pire the world could not stand. The Church had striven to become universal, and by insisting on ecclesiastical unity had helped keep alive the idea of political unity. The Bishops of Rome had recognized the Emperor at Constantinople as their lord; but during the eighth century a quarrel had arisen and the Popes had thrown off their allegiance and were looking for a protector elsewhere. The great power of the Frankish kingdom and its close alliance with the Bishops of Rome were the conditions without which the revival of the Empire in the west would have been impossible.

The republican party in Rome.

There was in Rome a party which was laboring for the independence of Rome and the revival of her ancient power. They were beginning to dream the dreams which troubled the Middle Age so much, dreams about restoring the Rome of the ancient republic, and making her once more the head of the world. In their way, however, was the Pope, who was trying to govern Rome in a more or less autocratic manner. In 798 this party organized a revolt, maltreated Leo III., preferred charges of perjury and adultery against him, and drove him from Rome. He fled to Karl the Great and begged to be restored. Karl sent him back to Rome under the protection of his officials, and himself followed later. He compelled Leo to take an oath that he was innocent of the crimes with which he was charged, and then reinstated him in his office. On Christmas-day, 800, while Karl was kneeling in the church of St. Peter at Rome, the Pope, without a word of warning, placed the imperial crown on his head and did him reverence; and all the people present shouted and hailed him Emperor. Karl was taken wholly by surprise. He was indeed striving to obtain the crown, but he wished to get it in a legitimate way, either by marrying Irene, Empress in the east, or by getting her to recognize him as her colleague and Emperor in the west. He

Coronation of Karl (800).

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was, in fact, turning both plans over in his mind when his coronation by the Pope forestalled him and cut across his schemes and, worst of all, made him in his own eyes a usurper. He knew that the Pope had no legal right to give him the crown. It was an act of open rebellion against the Emperor at Constantinople, although one for which the Pope thought he had good and sufficient grounds. The Emperors had for many years not done their duty to the western Church and especially to the Popes. By force of circumstances the Emperor was limited in his activities almost wholly to the east, while the Pope's interests and authority were limited to the west. Whenever the Emperor had interfered in the west, it had generally been to the disadvantage of the Pope; small wonder, then, that he was ready to revolt and transfer his allegiance to another. Added to this was the fact that the east was smirched with the heresy of hostility to the use of images. The west was shocked, too, that for the first time in its history the throne was held by a woman; and not only was the sovereign a woman, she was also guilty of inhuman cruelty, for she had deposed, imprisoned, and blinded her son, Constantine VI. The action of the Pope fell in with the prevailing desire of the people of Rome to restore their city to the place of honor which she had once had, but which was now held by Constantinople.

Grounds for the revolt.

There were good reasons why Karl should be elevated to this high position. By conquest he had built up an Empire which included all the west of Europe; he had in certain directions even extended the boundary of the Empire, and had everywhere established, protected, and promoted the Church, and preserved order and peace; he was, therefore, the only possible candidate the west had to offer. The Pope had also a selfish motive. His position in Rome was no longer sure. The republican party in the city had

Karl the only candidate in the west.

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driven him out once, and would do so again if the opportunity were offered. The Pope knew that he could hold his place in Rome only with the aid of Karl. By being crowned Emperor, Karl was made responsible for the preservation of peace and order in Rome. The Pope could therefore hope for Karl's support and protection, since the Emperor would not tolerate the independence of Rome nor allow the principal bishop in the west to be driven from his place.

Karl's surprise and displeasure were great, but he did not refuse the crown. He assumed the title, at the same time beginning negotiations with Constantinople, looking toward the confirmation of his newly acquired honor; but the Emperors in the east were for a long time inexorable. They refused him all recognition and heaped insults upon him; Karl, however, preserved a conciliatory attitude, and finally obtained what he so earnestly desired. In 812 he was greeted as Imperator and Basileus by the ambassadors of the eastern court. The defect in his title was thereby removed, and Karl troubled himself no further about Constantinople.

Karl obtains the sanction of the eastern court (812).

The coronation of Karl was, as has been said, a rebellious, and therefore an illegal, act. Although Karl continued to recognize the existence of the Emperors at Constantinople, the people in the west believed that they were deposing the eastern line and restoring the supremacy of the west. In their lists of Emperors the name of Karl directly follows that of Constantine VI. It was, and they meant that it should be, a revolt. At the time there was no attempt made to give a legal explanation of it or to make any theory about it; but later three legal theories were advanced by different parties, each of which wished to make capital out of the event.

Three theories.

The imperial party declared that Karl had won the

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crown by his conquests, and was indebted to no one for it but himself. This theory was based on truth, for Karl had conquered great territories, and but for this would not have been even thought of for Emperor. The Papal party said that the Pope, by virtue of his power as successor of the Apostle Peter, had deposed the Emperor at Constantinople and conferred the crown on Karl. This was based on the fact that the Pope actually crowned Karl; but at that time no one supposed for a moment that the Pope was crowning him by virtue of any such power. Such an interpretation was not thought of till long after. The people of Rome also advanced a theory to the effect that they had elected Karl, and that they had revived their ancient right of electing the Emperor. This theory had in its favor little more than the fact that the people had sanctioned the action of their leader by their shouts and acclamations.

Effects of the restoration.

Such was the famous restoration of the Empire in the west, a most important act, because of the great influence it had on the later history. It bound Italy and Germany together in a union which, while it had its compensations, was, on the whole, ruinous to both, at least politically. In consequence of this coronation of Karl, for seven hundred years the German Emperors were unable to free themselves from the idea that they must rule Italy. They were, consequently, continually wasting their strength in useless campaigns in Italy, instead of extending Germany to the east, the only direction in which there was possibility of success. They wore themselves out in Italy, but were never able to unite Germany. The best days of her best Emperors were spent on Italian soil, and the political unification of Germany was made impossible until our own times.

The coronation of Karl greatly increased his prestige, and, indirectly, his power. "Emperor" was far more than "king," and brought with it many more duties and

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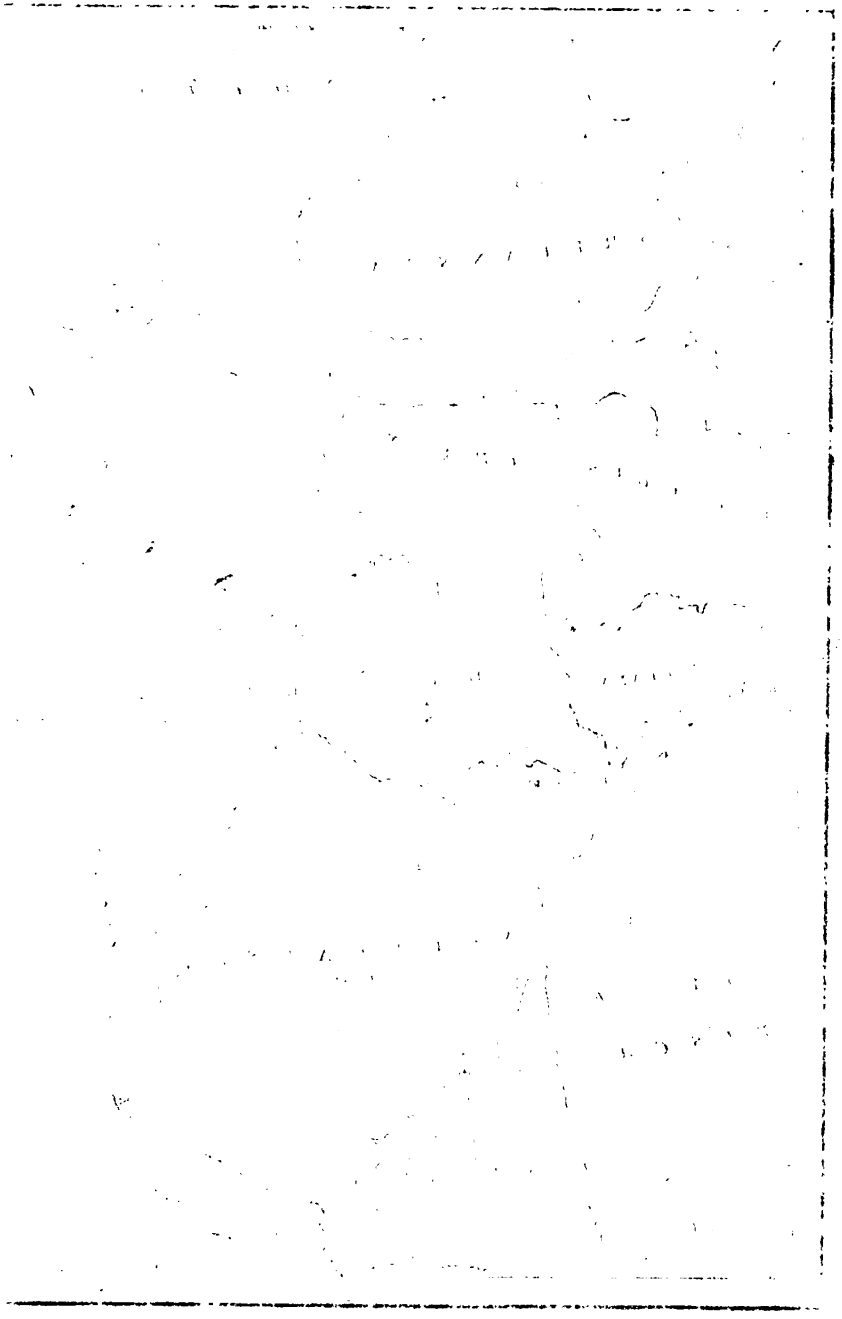

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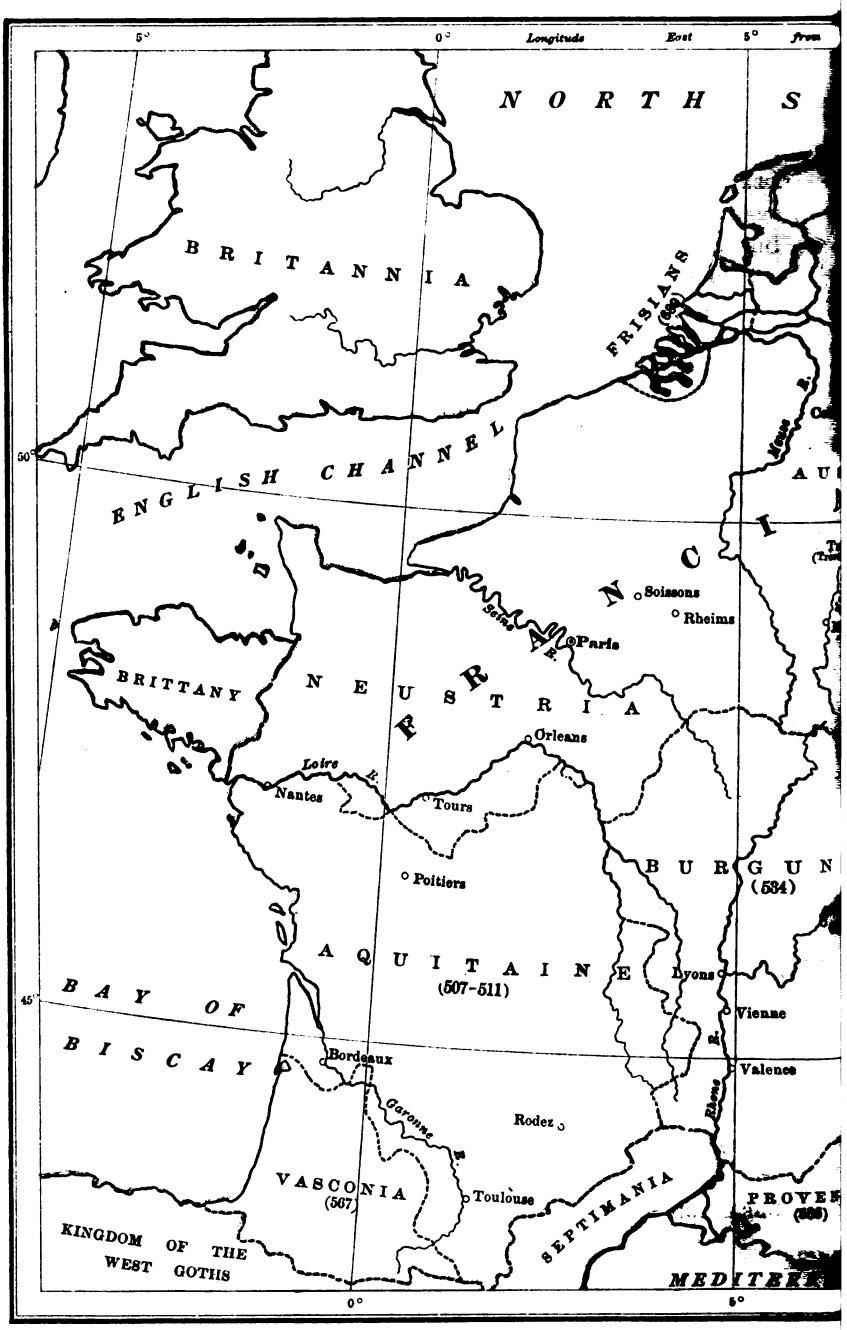

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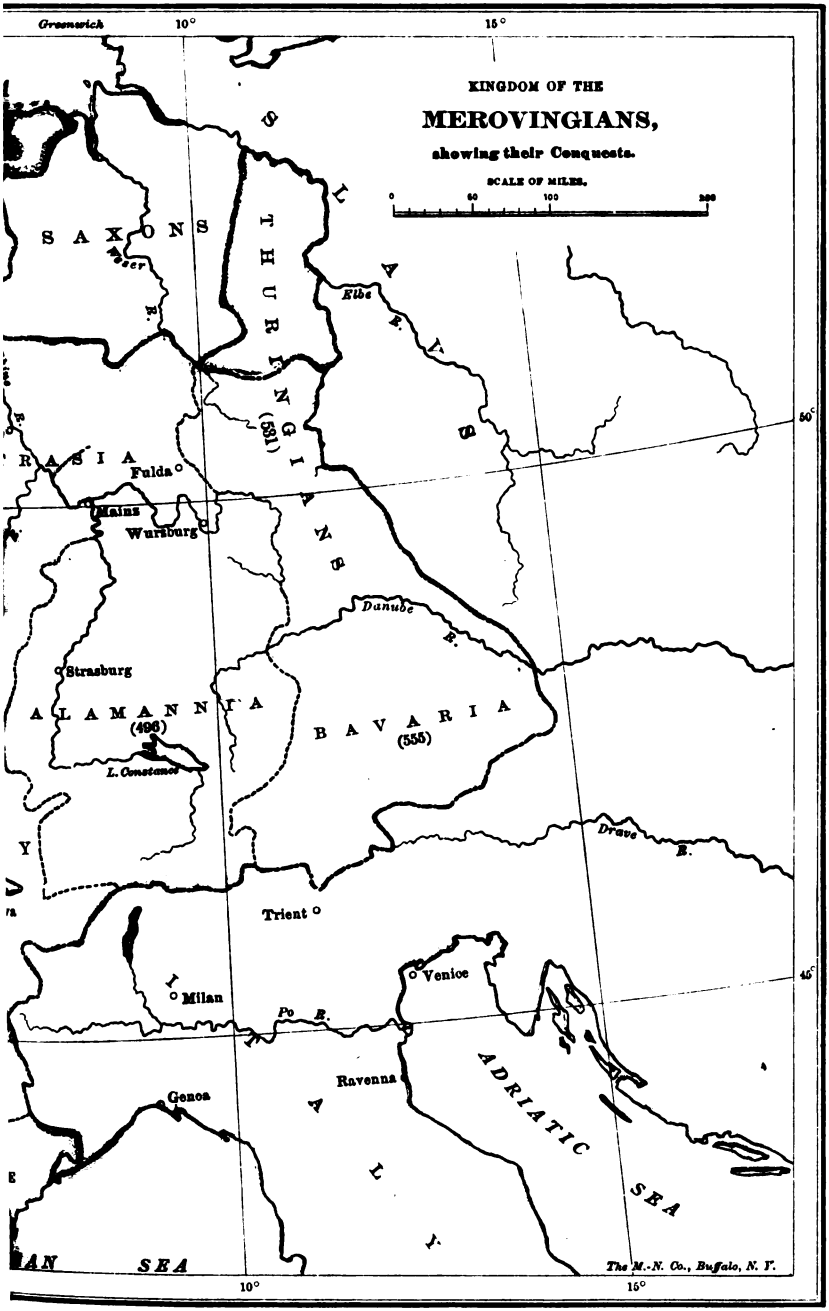

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obligations. Karl regarded himself as much exalted by the new office. The Emperor was supposed to hold his office directly from God, to whom alone he was responsible for everything he did. This is apparent from some of Karl's measures for governing. Shortly after his coronation he compelled all his subjects to take a special oath to himself as Emperor. The peculiarity of this oath was that all were required to swear that they would live not only as good citizens, but also as good Christians. The Emperor was responsible for the Christian lives of his subjects. This is characteristic of the way in which Church and State were mingled under the Karlings.

Karl's conception of his office.

For carrying on the government of his vast territory Karl had to invent new forms and adapt old ones. He held Mayfields according to the old German custom, but it was impossible for all his subjects to attend them. Large numbers of them came, however, especially because the campaigns were planned in these meetings, and it was expected that the armies would proceed at once to the war. He divided his territory into counties and placed over each a count (Graf). In the west the cities with the surrounding country formed these counties; in the east they were formed by the old tribal boundaries, while on the frontiers new districts were organized (marches or Markgrafschaften) and placed under border counts. The counts were held responsible for the administration of the government in their counties. They were by no means independent, but were Karl's assistants.

Karl's government.

Counts.

The dukes and duchies of Aquitaine, Alamannia, Saxony, and Bavaria disappeared, because they were too strong a menace to the unity of the Empire. Only the dukes of Benevento, Brittany, and Gascony remained, and they were simply Karl's officers and not independent.

Dukes disappear.

In order to put a check on all the officers of his realm,

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Missi Dominici.

and to control them, Karl sent out special commissioners, called "Missi Dominici," or royal messengers, whose duty it was to oversee all that was done by the local officers. They were to inquire into the conduct of all officials, and of the clergy as well. Appeals were made to them, and any misconduct on the part of any officer was reported to them. They were generally sent out two by two, one of them being a clergyman. They looked after the condition of the army, the collection of the taxes, the state of the churches and schools, the morals of the clergy, and the administration of justice as well as of things in general. In this way Karl was kept fully conversant with the affairs of both Church and State throughout his kingdom. The clergy were also regarded as officers of the state, and they had certain civil duties. They and the counts were supposed to work together in harmony, and mutually to assist each other; but there were at bottom the same unsettled relations between the clergy and the counts as between the Emperor and the Pope; the authority, rights, and duties of each were not clearly defined.

Karl's personal government.

Karl himself by his own personal efforts gave unity to the whole government and did much of the actual work. He was busy moving from one part of the realm to another, fighting, administering justice, conducting trials, settling difficulties, and, in general, keeping the machinery of government in motion.

His military system.

His military system did not differ from that of his predecessors. At his summons all his free subjects were supposed to come prepared to begin a campaign. But the frequency of his wars and their great distance from home made them very burdensome, and many now began to try to escape military service. A compromise was effected by which a certain number of men were allowed to equip one man and send him as their representative. Karl also built a fleet to

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guard the coast, and especially the mouths of rivers, which latter he often fortified.

As a lawgiver he was also active, although there is little that is remarkable in his legislation. He tried to preserve the old German laws and customs, which he now caused to be reduced to writing. His own laws are a curious mixture of German, Roman, and biblical elements. Since his Empire was Christian, the Bible was the very highest authority, and all laws were to be in harmony with it. It did indeed color much of his legislation. Karl as lawgiver.

As a builder Karl achieved a great reputation. He built many churches, the principal one of which was the church at Aachen, in which he was buried. He built a great palace for himself at Aachen, another at Ingelheim, near Mainz, and another at Nijmegen. He also built a bridge over the Rhine at Mainz, but it was destroyed by fire before his death. His architects were mostly Italians. Many pillars and other building materials were brought from Italy at incredible expense and labor. The style of his architecture was undoubtedly a derived Byzantine, for the buildings of Ravenna were his models. As builder.

Probably the most remarkable of all Karl's activities was his educational work. He drew to his court some of the most learned men of his day, among them Alcuin, Paulus Diaconus, Peter of Pisa, and others. He formed his court into a palace school (Scola Palatina), all the members of which assumed either classical or biblical names. Karl called himself David. The sessions of this school were held mostly in the winter, because in the summer Karl was engaged in his wars. His learned men gave lectures, and there were many discussions of the subjects broached. The clergy of the Empire were, on the whole, very ignorant, many of them too ignorant to preach, and Karl caused a volume of sermons to be prepared for their use. He estab- His attitude toward learning.

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lished cathedral schools, the most prominent of which were at Rheims and Orleans, and monastery schools, such as those of St. Gall, Tours, Reichenau, Fulda, Hersfeld, Corvey, and Hirschau. These were especially for the clergy, but they were open to all who might wish to enter. In fact, Karl had thoughts of a state system of public instruction. Karl was also greatly interested in the study of music. He asked the Pope to send him priests who could give instruction in the style of singing practised in Italy. Two schools of music were established by him, one at Metz, the other at Soissons. The organ was introduced into Gaul about this time and was cultivated by Karl.

Effects of this "Revival of Learning."

This manifold activity amounted to a real revival of learning, which bore fruit in the ninth century in the great disputations about foreordination and transubstantiation, as well as in the literature of that period. The great emphasis placed on classical Latin had some very important effects. In the first place, it purified the Latin of the Church, but at the same time widened the chasm between the spoken and the written Latin. The spoken Latin had now become a dialect, very different from the written language and impossible to purify. This vulgar speech was the beginning of the French language, and its development and use as a literary language was hastened by the revival of classical Latin. Not only the French but also the other Romance languages were gradually developing. The interest in the classics led to the multiplication of manuscripts and the preservation of the works of Latin authors which would otherwise have perished, and it also determined that the Latin should be the language of education during the Middle Age.

Karl a German.

Karl also loved his own tongue, the German. He caused a grammar of it to be made, attempting thus to make of it a literary language by reducing it to regular forms. He made a collection of the German songs and legends which

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were probably the earliest forms of some of the stories in the "Nibelungen Lied," but his son Ludwig, to our great loss, had this destroyed because of its heathenism.

Karl and the Church.

The attitude of Karl to the Church has already been shown. He regarded it as his special duty to defend the Church and to extend it by converting the heathen. The motive of many of his wars was quite as much religious as political. He took care that the conquered lands should be supplied with churches and clergy. He regarded himself as the master of the Church by virtue of the office which he held. He controlled the election of bishops and Archbishops, and sometimes even appointed them. The organization of the Church, begun in a systematic way by Boniface, was largely completed by him. He exercised the right of calling ecclesiastical councils, presided over them, and signed the decrees, which would otherwise have been invalid. Under him the Church had no independent power of legislation. The clergy, as well as the laymen, were subject to the laws of the Empire. Karl was the first to make the payment of tithes obligatory. During the first seven centuries of the Church, the tithe was practically unknown, being at that time only the traditional and customary rent paid for the use of lands. Karl tried to make this payment binding on the lands which he conquered, especially on the Saxons. This tenth was paid for the support of the Church, and this fact brought about a change in the conception of it. It was then identified with the tithe of the Old Testament, and in time made compulsory throughout all Christian countries.

But Karl's authority over the Church extended still farther. He claimed to have the right to determine the polity, ritual, and even the doctrines of the Church. In 787 the Empress Irene called a council to meet at Nicæa which should settle the question of the use of images in the

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churches. This council, under the protection of Irene, declared in favor of their use and sent its decrees or decisions to Pope Hadrian (772–95). Hadrian, who had all the time favored the use of images, was pleased with the decisions, sanctioned them, and sent them to Karl and asked him to publish them. But Karl was of a different opinion, and calling a council of his bishops in 794, he caused the action of the council at Nicæa to be refuted. The refutation (the Libri Carolini) was sent to Pope Hadrian with a reprimand, and a command that in the future he should wait in all such matters until Karl had given his consent. In another letter he reminded the Pope that it was his special duty to pray, and not to interfere in the affairs of state, which belonged to the Emperor alone. Karl's authority over the Pope is seen even more clearly in the case of Leo III., who was compelled to clear himself before Karl of the charges made against him. Karl undoubtedly was, and was regarded, as the highest authority in the west; distinctly superior to the Pope in all political matters, and practically so in ecclesiastical affairs. There was no legal determination of the mutual relations and powers of the Emperor and the Pope, for the theoretical question was not yet broached. Both Emperor and Pope made claims which were mutually opposed and conflicting, but there was no theoretical treatment of the question of their respective rights and authorities. The Pope claimed to be the successor of St. Peter, the Bishop of the whole Church, and therefore he must have authority over the whole Church; but Karl was the Christian Emperor, the ruler of the world with absolute authority. The adjustment of these claims was not to be reached till after centuries of struggle for supremacy.

Karl and the Pope.

In Karl is found that peculiar fusion of German, Roman, and biblical elements which characterizes the Middle Age.

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In his dress, speech, manners, and sympathies he was a German, but judging him by his notions and practice of government he was a Roman, largely affected by biblical conceptions and ideas. He was a Roman Emperor who attempted to establish a theocracy. He was absolute master of the west, and his reputation was so great that his friendship was sought even by the great Khalif, Haroun-ar-Raschid, of Bagdad, who wished to see his rebellious Saracen subjects of Spain punished.

Einhard's Biography.

His counsellor and private secretary, Einhard, has left us a lively picture of Karl.[1] Without doubt he was one of the greatest men of all time. No one else has more thoroughly taken hold of the imagination of the people. For centuries after his death the popular imagination was busy with his name and deeds, and the impression which he made on the world found expression in a vast cycle of legends, all of which were confidently believed during the Middle Age.

He died January 28, 814, at Aachen, from pleurisy, and was buried the same day in the great church which he had built. "A gilded arch was erected above his tomb, with his image and an inscription. The words of the inscription were as follows: 'In this tomb lies the body of Karl the Great and Orthodox Emperor, who gloriously extended the kingdom of the Franks and reigned prosperously for forty-seven years. He died at the age of seventy, in the year of our Lord 814, the seventh indiction, on the 28th day of January.'"[2]

[1] A good translation of this is published by Harper & Brothers in their School Classics.

[2] Einhard, page 71.

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CHAPTER V

THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE

KARL had indeed acquired a vast Empire and by his great personal ability governed it well. But he could not in so short a time make the various peoples who composed his realm homogeneous. A common religious faith and a common government were not sufficient to overcome the differences which existed in race, tribe, temperament, customs, and language. As soon, therefore, as Karl's commanding personality was removed, these differences began to show themselves. Karl had made a brilliant attempt to reorganize society after the model of the Roman Empire. He failed, and his kingdom went to pieces because of the weakness of his successors, under whom lands, office, and authority were usurped by their officials. Another cause was the actual partition of the Empire among the sons in the royal family; the Empire being regarded as a private possession and divided among the heirs; the disintegration was further brought about by the racial differences that existed in the realm, and by the forces set in operation by the invasion of the Barbarians. The Germans were intensely ambitious and proud. Individualism was one of their most prominent characteristics. In the then existing state of society the only legitimate exercise of ability and ambition was in the practice of arms. Since this was the only way to rise, it is not surprising that we should now come upon a period of violence and lawlessness in which might determined everything. Although Karl's

Causes of disintegration

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realm went to pieces, during his reign its various parts had all been subjected to influences which modified their future.

The dissolution of the Empire made rapid strides under Karl's son Ludwig the Pious (814–40), a prince who lacked all the qualities which made his father great. His education had been entrusted to the clergy with most unfortunate results. He was better fitted for the monastery than the throne, and more than once actually wished to lay down his crown and enter the cloister. His conscience was abnormally developed and thoroughly morbid. Petty faults he magnified into great sins, and he was continually doing penance when he should have been attending to the affairs of state. He altogether lacked the sterner qualities necessary for governing in a time of violence and barbarism. Being without will and purpose he was the slave in turn of his wife, his clergy, and his sons. Karl the Great, about six months before his death, had crowned Ludwig as his successor. On his accession Ludwig repeated the coronation, placing the crown upon his own head. In 815 Pope Leo III. died, and the people of Rome at once elected his successor, Stephen IV., without asking the consent or sanction of Ludwig, an insult and infringement of his prerogatives which the Emperor did not resent. The Pope followed up the advantage thus gained, and told the Emperor that his coronation was invalid because it had not been performed by the clergy, and proposed to come into France and recrown him. Again Ludwig yielded, and was crowned a third time by Stephen IV., at Rheims (816–17). Another precedent was thereby established for the claim made by the Popes that they alone had the right to crown the Emperor.

Ludwig the Pious.

His threefold coronation.

The record of the reign of Ludwig is full of stupid blunders. In his zeal for reform he drove from his court the able counsellors of Karl the Great, because their lives did

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not seem to him sufficiently ascetic. He released nearly all the monasteries of his realm from all duties to the state except that of praying for the welfare of the Emperor, his children, and the state, thus depriving the crown of a large income, and fostering in the Church the idea of separation and independence. He closed the monastery schools to the laity, was lavish in his gifts to both monasteries and churches, and was always surrounded by monks and priests. In 817 he committed the unpardonable blunder of dividing his Empire among his three sons and associating them with himself in the government. The division led to jealousies, intrigues, and war. Instead of boldly facing the problems and difficulties that beset him, Ludwig spent his time in doing penance, and offended against the dignity of his office by appearing in the garb of a penitent before a great council of the clergy and nobility, and making humble confession of imaginary sins. Yielding to the importunities of Judith, his second wife, he deprived two of his sons by his first wife of some of their territory in order to make a principality for his youngest son, Charles. Revolt and war were the result, and the last years of his life were filled with the most disgraceful intrigues and treachery.

A new division of his kingdom was several times attempted, in the hope that all the sons might be satisfied. It was all in vain, however, for when Ludwig died (840), the three sons who survived him continued their fratricidal wars for three years before they could agree upon any division of the territory. Finally, the brothers came together and settled their long quarrel by the treaty of Verdun (843).

The treaty of Verdun, 843

According to the terms of this famous treaty, Lothar retained the imperial crown. As Emperor he must have the two capitals, Rome and Aachen. He therefore received Italy and a strip of land extending from Italy to the North Sea. This strip was bounded on the east by the Rhine, but

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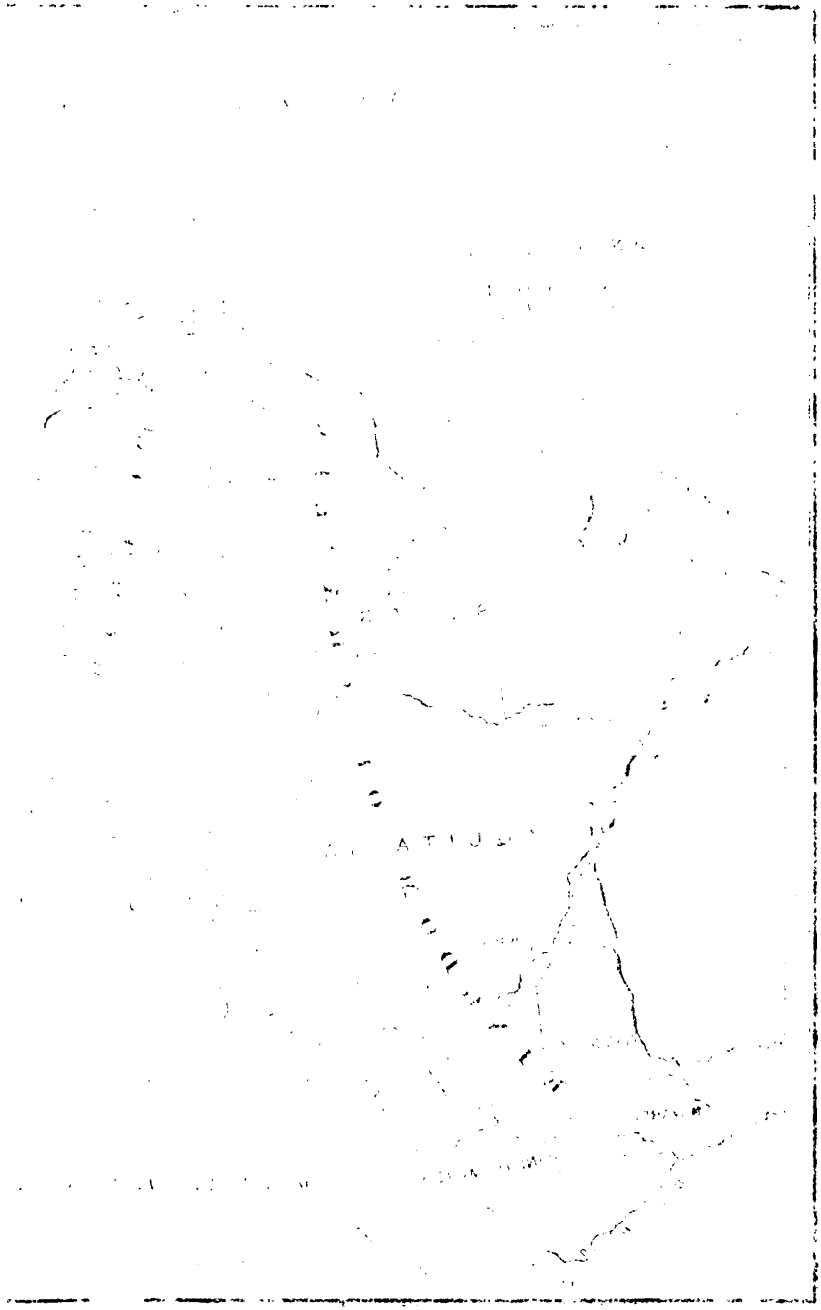

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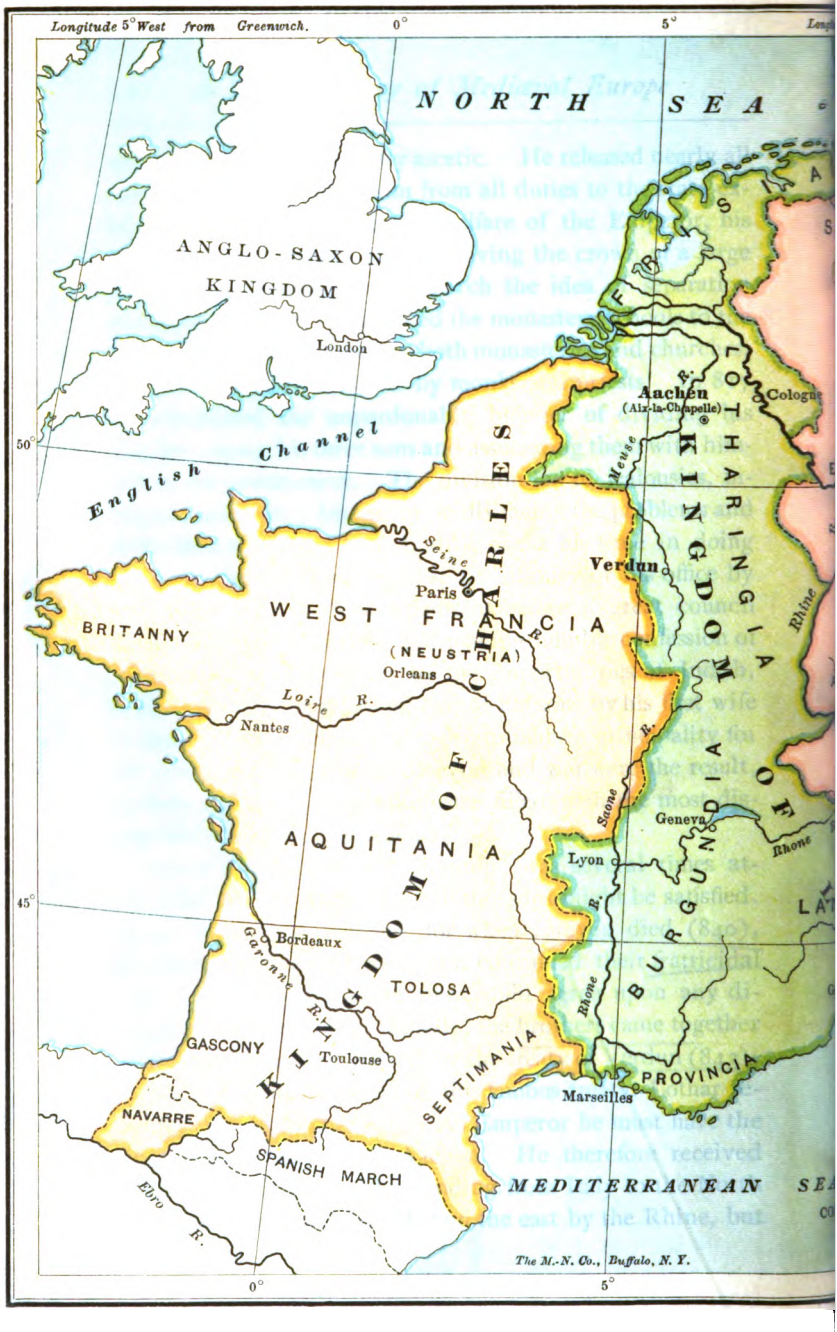

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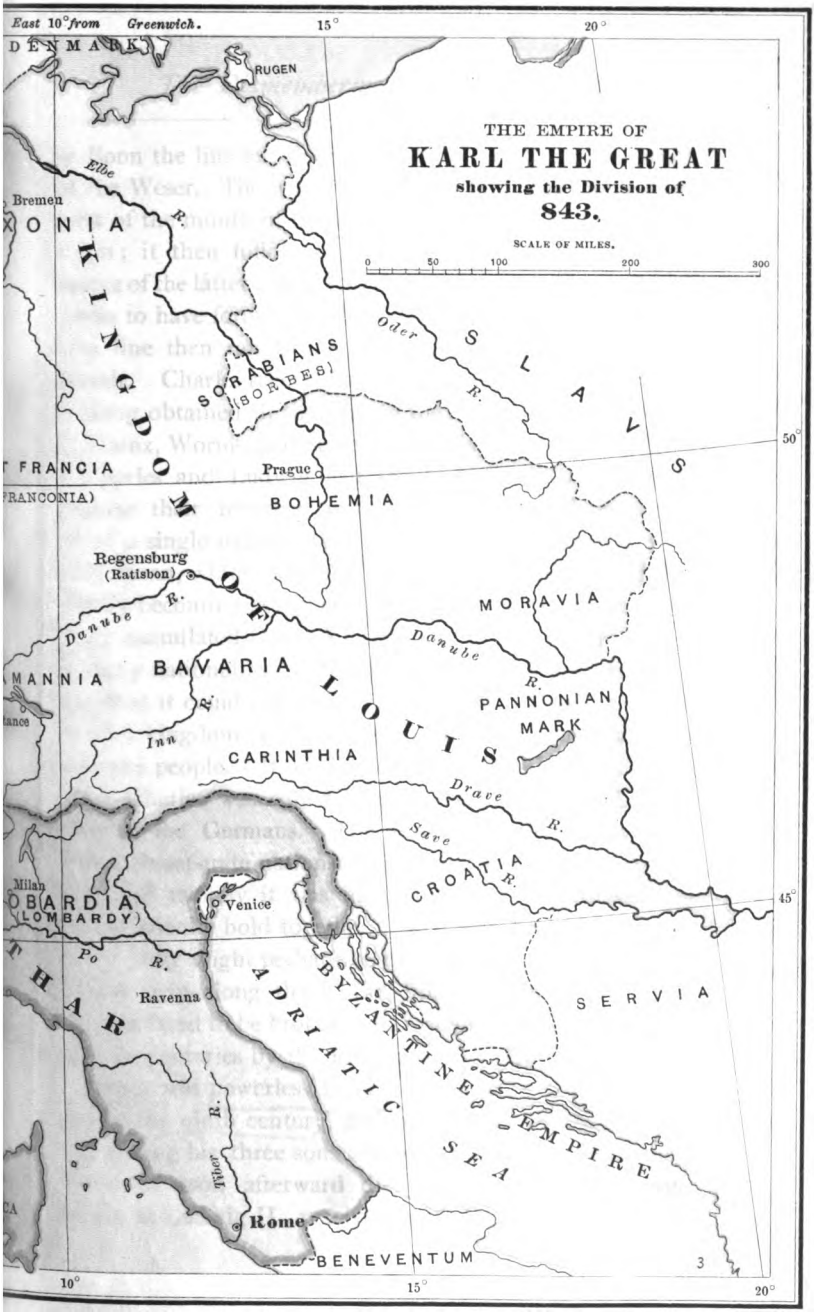

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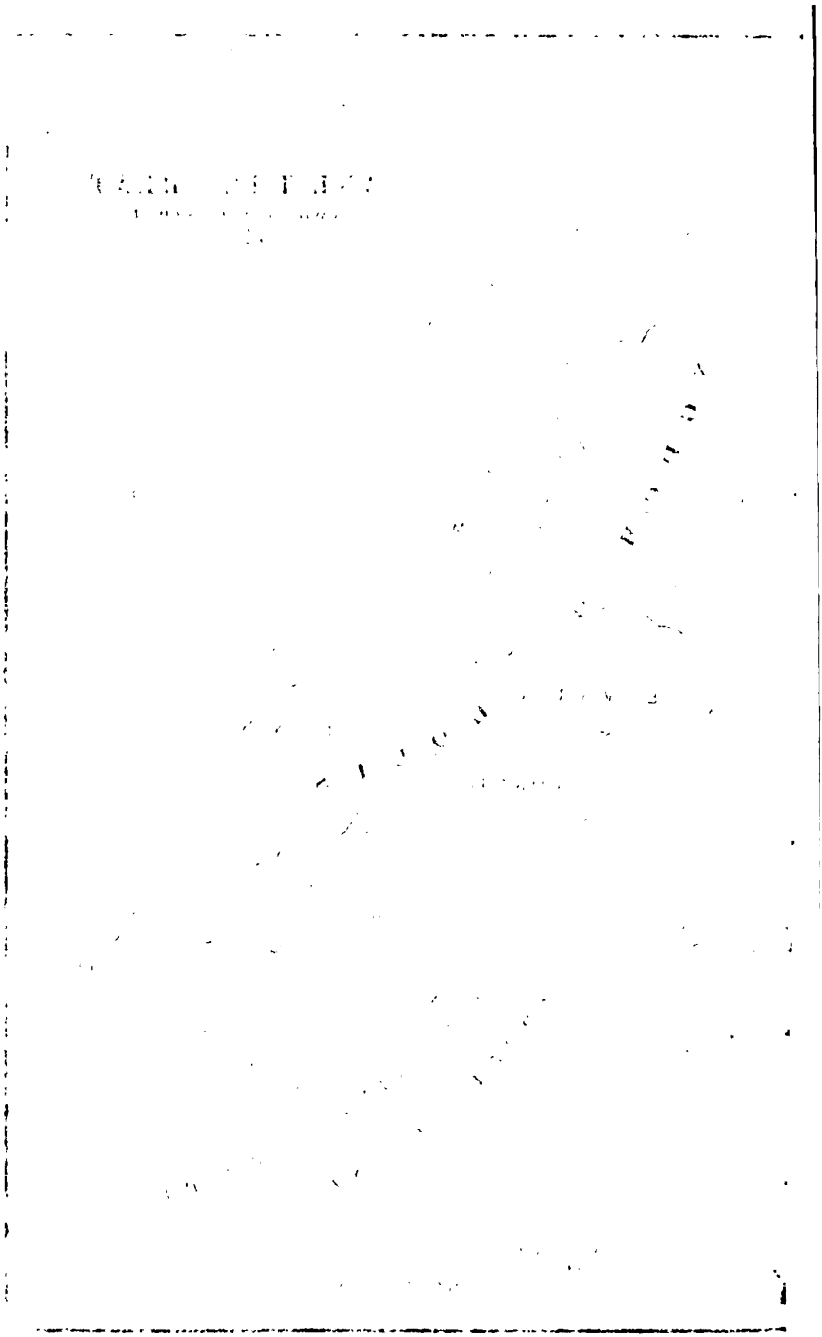

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at Bonn the line left the river and ran north to the mouth of the Weser. The western boundary line began some miles west of the mouth of the Rhône, but reached that river near Lyon; it then followed the Rhône and the Saône to the source of the latter; thence to the source of the Meuse, which seems to have formed the boundary as far as the Ardennes. The line then ran to the Scheldt, which it followed to its mouth. Charles received all the territory west of this strip. Ludwig obtained all the land to the east, with the dioceses of Mainz, Worms, and Speier, which lay west of the Rhine.

Charles and Ludwig had the best of it in this division, because their territory was compact and each was master of a single nationality. The subjects of Ludwig were all German, while those of Charles were mixed, indeed, but rapidly becoming homogeneous. The German element was being assimilated by the Keltic. But Lothar's subjects were of many nationalities. Besides, his territory lay in such a way that it could not easily be defended. It is significant that his kingdom could be named only after himself and not after any people. It was known as the kingdom of Lothar, while Charles was called king of the Franks, and Ludwig king of the Germans. The history of Germany and of France as separate nations begins with 843, but geographically and racially it was impossible that the kingdom of Lothar should hold together. The Alps broke it into two parts; Italy might perhaps be made into a nation, but the narrow strip along the Rhine, from the Alps to the North Sea, was fated to be broken into many fragments and fought over for centuries by the French and the Germans.

The beginning of France and Germany.

Lothar was powerless against the violence that prevailed during the ninth century, and, worn out, divided his territory among his three sons and withdrew into a monastery, where he soon afterward died (855). His eldest son, known as Ludwig II., received Italy and the imperial title;

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The family of Lothar becomes extinct; his kingdom divided.

Charles's portion was Provence and Burgundy; while Lothar II. obtained Friesia, Austrasia, and all the remaining lands north of the Alps. From him this territory took the name of Lotharingia (Lorraine). The three brothers could not, however, live together in peace. They were in constant feud with one another till 863, when Charles died, and the other two divided his territory between them.

In 869 Lothar II. died, and his uncles, Charles the Bald, king of the West Franks, and Ludwig the German, after some struggle, divided his land. In 875 the Emperor, Ludwig II., died, and with his death this branch of the family became extinct. The rivalry between Charles the Bald and Ludwig the German culminated in a war for the possession of the imperial crown. Charles was the first to reach Italy, and was crowned at Pavia king of the Lombards, and a short time afterward Emperor, by the Pope at Rome.

The Reign of Ludwig the German.

Ludwig the German was unable to take the field in person against his brother. He was old and feeble, and death overtook him the next year (876). His long reign, although greatly disturbed by the revolts of his sons and the invasions of the Northmen and Slavs was, on the whole, fairly successful. It was of the very highest importance that the various German tribes should be brought to feel their unity and that a national feeling should be produced among them. It was during his reign that the East Franks (Franconians), Saxons, Suabians, and Bavarians came to feel that they were much alike, and that they differed from the Franks of the west. He extended his boundaries by chastising and reducing the rebellious Abotrites and Sorbs, Slavic peoples to the northeast, and a great many of the Bohemian and Moravian tribes. He was successful in punishing the Northmen and resisted their invasions, although he could not prevent the destruction of Hamburg, which Ludwig the Pious had made the seat of an Archbishop.

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In consequence of this calamity the archbishopric of Hamburg was added to that of Bremen.

Regarding the kingship as his private property, Ludwig the German divided his kingdom among his three sons; but Karlman died in 880, and Ludwig, known as the Saxon, in 884, leaving as sole ruler their brother, Karl the Fat, who had been crowned Emperor by the Pope in 882.

Charles the Bald, 840–77.

At the death of Ludwig the German (876), Charles the Bald, true to his character, tried to seize his territory, but was unable to do so. At the same time the Northmen invaded his kingdom. Without trying to meet them in the field, he bribed them to attack his nephews, and set off for Italy because he thought his imperial crown in danger by a revolt there. He died, however, on the journey, at the foot of the Mont Cenis pass. The favorite son of his father, he had been the cause of the wars that filled the last years of Ludwig the Pious. Ambitious and grasping, he had begun several wars during his reign for the purpose of unjustly depriving some of his relatives of their possessions. In striving to extend his territory, he neglected what he already possessed. His officials ruled as they pleased, and the Northmen and Saracens ravished his territory almost unhindered. He did little more than squander the resources of his kingdom. His son, Louis II. the Stammerer, succeeded him; but after a short, though promising, reign died (879), leaving two sons, Louis III. and Karlman, and a posthumous son, afterward known as Charles the Simple. The death of Louis III. (882) and of Karlman (884) practically left the throne vacant, since Charles the Simple was only five years old. Rather than trust to a mere child, the nobles offered the crown to Karl the Fat, who, by accepting it, united under himself all the territory which had once been ruled over by Karl the Great. He was, however, not equal to the task. Besides

Karl the Fat, Emperor, 884–87.

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being very corpulent he was afflicted with chronic headache, which incapacitated him both for thought and action. His inefficiency led to his deposition (887), and the Empire rapidly broke up into small kingdoms. His nephew, Arnulf, who deposed him, received as his reward the kingdom of the East Franks; the nobles of the West Franks elected Odo, count of Paris, king, while the duke of Aquitaine took Charles the Simple to his court and remained independent of Odo.

The little kingdoms.

Burgundy was divided into two kingdoms. In 879 count Boso, of Vienne, had usurped the royal title and made himself master of lower Burgundy. Count Rudolf now seized upper Burgundy and succeeded in getting himself crowned king. His territory was bounded approximately by the Saône and by the Aar, and extended from Basel to Lyon. These two little kingdoms remained separate till 934, when they united to form the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles. In Italy there were also two kingdoms formed. Berengar, margrave of Friuli, was elected king of the Lombards and crowned by the Archbishop of Milan; but Guido of Spoleto made war on him, got possession of the western part of Lombardy, and assumed the title of king.

Disintegration and violence.

The breaking up of the Empire into these little kingdoms shows how thoroughly power and authority had been dissipated and decentralized during the ninth century. Feudalism had got a strong hold on Europe. Offices and lands which had once been held at the will of the king had been usurped, and had become hereditary possessions of their holders. Violence was everywhere; the more powerful nobles oppressed the weaker, and all united to enslave the freemen. The chaos of the times was due to the weakness and inefficiency of the rulers, who, for the most part, neglected their first and most important duties to chase after the shadows of empty titles.

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CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL HISTORY OF FRANCE, 887–1108

Odo king, 888–98.

Odo, the newly elected king of France, was the best choice that could have been made by the Frankish nobles. He surpassed them all in valor, was noted for his just and upright character, and, of all their number, had the largest landed possessions. His popularity was greatly increased by that of his father, Robert the Strong, who lost his life in resisting the invasion of the Northmen (866). But his position was not safe because he was only one of several great nobles, all of whom regarded themselves as practically his equal.

The great fiefs.

Under the weak successors of Karl the Great the counts who had been the king's officers had greatly increased their independence, and had made their office hereditary. In this way there arose the powerful counts of Flanders, Poitou, Anjou, Poitiers, Gascony, Paris, and many others, whose lands came to be called the "great fiefs." The Northmen continued their invasions, but Odo was not always so successful in repelling them as he had been. From 893 on he had also to contend against the oft-renewed conspiracy of some of the strongest nobles to restore Charles the Simple to the throne. So long as he lived he successfully defended his title, but at last, worn out with the struggle, he died (898) after having named as his successor, not his brother Robert, who was his heir, but Charles the Simple (898–929). Robert did homage to Charles, and received the duchy of France (a strip of territory which included, among other cities, Paris, Tours, and Orleans).

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Charles the Simple, 898–929.

Charles the Simple was in many respects an able man, but his too ready confidence in the promises and loyalty of his subjects often brought him great trouble and loss, and won for him the title of Simple. The invasions of the Northmen continued without abatement, and many of their bands now spent the winter in France, having taken possession of some of the districts about the mouth of the Seine and elsewhere. In 911 Charles offered their principal leader, Rolf (Rollo), the valley of the lower Seine and his daughter in marriage if he would settle there and become a Christian. They met at Clair-sur-Epte and the agreement was made. It proved to be a wise measure, for it was to the interest of Rolf and his people that the invasions should cease. The various bands of Northmen were soon gathered together under Rolf, and fresh invaders were repulsed. The district thus assigned to them received from them the name of Normandy.

Settlement of the Northmen on the Lower Seine.

Robert of France repented that he had refused the crown in 899, and with two other great nobles conspired to overthrow Charles and make himself king. In 923 they met the king's forces near Soissons and defeated them, but Robert himself was slain. His son Hugo was unwilling to claim the crown, and the nobles, therefore, elected the son-in-law of Robert, Rudolf of Burgundy, king. By treachery they got possession of the person of Charles and imprisoned him. His wife, however, escaped with her son to England, where she was received by her father, king Eadward the Elder. For twelve years Rudolf held the title of king, although during the first years of his reign his authority was very limited, and many of the great nobles refused to obey him. A quarrel with some of his nobles finally led to a brief restoration of Charles, but he was again imprisoned, and died soon afterward of starvation (929). During these internal troubles the Magyars

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(Hungarians) invaded France from both Italy and Germany, and escaped with large booty after committing great depredations. Lotharingia refused to accept Rudolf, and again became a part of Germany.

Rudolf died (936) without children, and Louis IV. (d'Outremer, Transmarinus) was recalled from England and made king. Duke Hugo of Paris, still unwilling to risk all for the sake of a title which brought with it great difficulties but little authority, preferred rather to be the favorite adviser of the king, for he could thereby greatly increase his possessions. He was lord of Neustria, duke of Francia, and suzerain of Blois, Champagne, Chartres, Anjou, and many other counties. Louis d'Outremer married the sister of Otto I., king of the Germans, with whom he was generally on good terms, but their relations were disturbed by another attempt of Lotharingia to change its lord. More than once he was compelled to wage war with his great vassal Hugo. His sudden death in 954 placed the crown on the head of his eldest son, Lothaire (954–86), a boy eight years old. The support of Hugo was bought with the duchies of Aquitaine and Burgundy, but he died before he had made himself master of Aquitaine. His two sons, Hugo Capet and Otto, inherited his vast possessions. Hugo Capet also followed the policy of his great father and tried to gain possessions in the south of Gaul. Lothaire was a man of ability, but he made two fatal mistakes. He quarrelled with the clergy, especially Adalberon, Archbishop of Rheims, and he set his heart on gaining Lotharingia, which was now a part of Germany. Consequently he was continually at war with the kings of Germany. Otto II. carried the war into France and even threatened Paris. Taking advantage of these hostile relations, Hugo Capet obtained the friendship of Otto III., and when Lothaire turned to Germany for help he found an alliance

Louis d'Outremer, 936–54.

Lothaire, 954–86.

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existing between his great vassal and the German king. Lothaire died before the revolution came, and his son, Louis V., succeeded him in 986. His death, however, took place the next year, and there was but one Karling left, Charles, duke of Lower Lotharingia, a man, however, without power, who could not hope to obtain the votes of the great nobles. On the other hand, Hugo Capet had the support of Otto III. of Germany. He was allied by marriage to some of the most powerful counts. The clergy and the monasteries were on his side, because he had taken special pains to win them by rich donations. The Archbishop Adalberon of Rheims and the bishops of the whole country called the nobles together for the purpose of electing a king, and after a clever address, in which Adalberon proved that Charles was not the most suitable person for king, and that the crown was not hereditary but elective, he proposed the duke Hugo Capet and recounted his virtues and qualifications. The duke was unanimously elected and crowned as "King of the Gauls, Bretons, Danes, Normans, Aquitanians, Goths, Spaniards, and Gascons."

Duke Hugo Capet elected king.

In this way the crown came into the possession of the Capetians, a dynasty which was to rule France in the direct line for more than three hundred years (987–1328); for though the crown was declared to be elective, it soon became hereditary in this family. It was of the greatest influence on the history of the line that there was never lacking a male heir, generally of mature years, able to take up and carry out the policy of his predecessors. There were, therefore, no disputed successions, no disastrous regencies, no troubled elections.

The position of the king.

The position of the new line of the Capetians had its points of strength and weakness. Both the Merovingians and the Karlings had been consecrated by the Church and were therefore regarded as legitimate rulers. The Capets,

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upon being hailed by the Church, were accepted by a large part of the nation as the true successors to those great houses. The king thus became, for the majority of the people, an absolute sovereign, a power ordained of God to rule, to preserve order, and to administer justice. But there was another class, composed mostly of the nobility, which at this time was living in accordance with feudal customs and ideas, and to them the king was by no means absolute. His authority over them and his demands on them were limited. They were themselves kings in their domains and exercised royal prerogatives. These feudal ideas and customs the Capets were forced to recognize. The royal power was greatly limited, and it was only by following a consistent policy and by the greatest good fortune that the Capets were able in the end to triumph over feudalism and to establish a strong central government. But this was a long and slow process. For more than a hundred years the disintegration of power and of territory went on. The Capets were not able to keep their officials from making their offices hereditary, and their family possessions, as well as the royal domain which they had inherited from the Karlings, were diminished by constant usurpations. Their weakness was greatest in the eleventh century. The twelfth century brought a change in their fortunes, and their power from that time on steadily increased.

Of the feudal lord.

The reign of Hugo Capet (987–96) was quite as successful as could be expected under the circumstances. He was generally recognized by the great vassals, and maintained an independent attitude toward the German Emperors and toward the Papacy. Under him there was a distinct growth in the feeling of nationality which helped increase the separation between France and her neighbors, already caused by the differences in language and customs.

His son and successor, Robert II. (996–1031), surnamed

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Robert II., 996–1031.

the Pious, because of his humble and upright character and his regard for the truth, was none the less a warrior of ability, fighting vigorously for Lotharingia and adding by conquest several cities and districts to his estates.

Henry I., 1031–60, and the great vassals.

The reign of Henry I. (1031–60) was very disastrous for the royal power, although the king himself was both brave and active. He was continually engaged in a struggle with the nobles whose territories surrounded his own, especially with the counts of Blois and the dukes of Normandy. The only outlet from his estates to the sea was the Seine, the lower part of which was in the possession of the Normans, whose numbers and warlike qualities made their duke a dangerous neighbor of the king. Henry I. appreciated the situation and made every effort to make himself master of Normandy. He met, however, with two severe defeats (at Mortemer, 1054, and Varaville, 1058) at the hands of duke William the Bastard (1035–87), afterward known as William the Conqueror, the first Norman king of England (1066–87).

Philip I., 1060–1108.

Philip I. (1060–1108) followed the policy of his father in regard to Normandy and the other great fiefs. He was too young to prevent duke William from making his conquest of England, but he did all he could to weaken him by fomenting quarrels in the family of William and by endeavoring to keep Normandy and England as independent of each other as possible. This policy he handed down to his successors, who eventually were successful in it. He carried on, in a creditable manner, several wars with other great vassals, and was successful in adding certain lands to his possessions. He refused to go on the first crusade, resisted the claims of Gregory VII., and treated that part of the clergy of France which supported the Pope with a good deal of severity. Such conduct, now regarded as specially creditable to him, brought upon him the disfavor of the

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chroniclers who have generally painted him in the darkest colors, charging him with gluttony, laziness, debauchery, highway robbery, and many other vices and crimes. Some of the charges may be true, but many of them can safely be set down as the inventions or exaggerations of his enemies. In his later years his activity was limited by his abnormal obesity, which amounted in his case to a disease. His reign, however, was not without its achievements, although the growing feudalism of the country daily diminished the actual power of the king. Feudal castles and strongholds were everywhere, and the king met with resistance on all hands. The famous castle of Montlhéry was at the very gates of Paris, and the king was actually in danger of being taken prisoner by his own brigand subjects and held for a ransom if he ventured outside of his city without a strong guard. The chaos and anarchy of feudalism were at their height; but the reign of Louis VI. (1108–37) brought a change. Under him the power of the king increased, the lawlessness of the times was checked, order was reëstablished, at least in part, and feudal customs became more fixed, thereby diminishing the violence that had been so prevalent and increasing the general security. The condition of the country was by no means perfect, but it was of the greatest importance that a large amount of stability was introduced into the customs and practices of the government and of society. The kings of France possessed a great advantage over the kings of Germany in that they were allowed to retain all fiefs which fell vacant, while in Germany the great dukes compelled the king to relet all fiefs within a year. The kings of France, therefore, had an excellent opportunity to increase their possessions, while the kings of Germany were cut off from that advantage.

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CHAPTER VII

GERMANY AND ITS RELATION TO ITALY (887–1056)

Arnulf, 887–99.

THE deposition of Karl the Fat left Arnulf in the possession of the German crown (887–99). As successor of Karl the Great, he assumed that he was entitled to a certain sovereignty over all the rulers of the west, and accordingly demanded and received the acknowledgment of his supremacy from the kings of Burgundy, Italy, and the West Franks. He defeated with great slaughter the Northmen (891), but was unable to subdue the Slavic kingdom of Moravia, which included much of what is now Bohemia and Austria. At the invitation of the Pope, Arnulf made two journeys into Italy for the purpose of restoring order there and relieving the Pope from the tyranny of his enemies, in return for which services the Pope crowned him Emperor (896).

Ludwig the Child, 899–911.

The reign of his son, known as Ludwig the Child (899–911), was fatal to the unity of Germany. The local nobility, filled with a desire for independent power, seized offices and lands and made them hereditary in their own families. As the Empire of Karl the Great had broken up into many little states, so the kingdom of Arnulf fell apart into five great duchies, known as Franconia, Saxony, Bavaria, Suabia, and Lotharingia. Owing to the weakness of the king, certain men in these duchies were able to usurp authority and assume the title of duke, and were, in their duchies, practically independent of the king. The boundaries of the duchies, following tribal lines, helped preserve

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and perpetuate the differences that already existed among these five great groups of Germans. The people of each duchy longed to be independent of all the others, and preferred their own narrow interests to those of the kingdom.

With the death of Ludwig the Child the line of Karl the Great came to an end in Germany, and it was therefore necessary to elect a king. The honor fell to Conrad I. (911–18), duke of Franconia. Although able, brave, active, and ambitious to rule well, his reign was spent in a vain endeavor to make good the traditional authority of the king over the dukes. He allied himself closely with the clergy, and at a council at Altheim (916) they threatened with the ban all who should resist him. Political disaffection was to be regarded as heresy and punished in the same way. But even with their aid Conrad could not reduce the dukes; and at his death he designated as his successor his most powerful rival, Henry of Saxony.

Conrad I., of Franconia, king, 911–18.

The nobles of Saxony and Franconia came together in Fritzlar and elected Henry king (called the Fowler, also the Builder of Cities, 919–36). He was a practical man, who saw all the difficulties of the position and was persuaded that a feudal kingship was the only kind now possible. The days of the Karlings were gone forever. The power of the dukes was not to be broken; their independence in their own territory was not to be questioned; and they were to be held responsible to the king only for the feudal duties which they recognized as due him. This feudal conception of the kingship was new, and radically changed the attitude of the king toward the clergy and the dukes, for as he meant to be friendly with the dukes, he did not need the special help of the clergy. After his election, the Archbishop of Mainz, as Primate of the kingdom, wished to anoint him, but Henry refused, saying that the election alone was sufficient.

The Saxon Line, Henry I., 919–36.

Henry I. and the Church.

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Progress in Germany.

In 924 the Magyars, or Hungarians, invaded Saxony. Henry was unable to meet them in the field, and therefore made a nine years' treaty with them, paying them a heavy tribute. These years Henry used to put his country into a good state of defence and to improve his army. His preparations are described by Widukind (i., 35) as follows: "He first chose one out of every nine soldiers who were living in the country and compelled him to live in a city (urbs) in order that he might build dwellings for the other eight and lay by one-third of all the grain produced, while the other eight should sow and harvest for the ninth. In these cities, on the construction of which they labored day and night, the king ordered that all trials, meetings, and festivals of whatever sort, should be held, in order that the people in times of peace might become accustomed to what would be necessary in time of war (*i.e.*, to living together in close quarters)." Towns are mentioned which he fortified, such as Merseburg, Meissen, and Quedlinburg. There were walled towns before his time, but most of the Germans lived in open, straggling villages. Henry gave a great impulse to town life, and it was due to his activity that the German towns now became more numerous, and that in the next century there was a large and important citizen class. Commerce was also thereby greatly promoted. During these years of peace Henry also developed a good army. All who did military service were trained in the use of arms by military sports, and a cavalry troop was formed. The Saxons, it would seem, up to this time, had fought only on foot. The new mode of fighting was soon to become common, since it was generally those who had some means who were called on to follow the king on his campaigns. The poorer people nearly all now sunk to the position of serfs or slaves and so escaped military service.

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Henry was successful in wresting territory from both the Danes on the north and the Slavs on the east. In 933 he refused to pay the Magyars tribute, met them in the field, and defeated them with great loss in several battles. The superiority of the improved method of defence, the walled towns, the cavalry, and the trained army, was now apparent. Before his death (936) he had his son Otto recognized as his successor.

Otto I., 936–73.

Otto I. (936–73) came to the throne with a different character and with ideas about his office entirely different from those of his father. Henry was noted for his modesty and humility. He was practical and never strove for the impossible. He clearly recognized that he could not destroy the power of the dukes, and was therefore willing to recognize their independence. Otto, on the contrary, was proud and ambitious. He had high ideas about his royal rights and prerogatives. He was not content with the position of feudal king, but regarded himself as the successor of Karl the Great. The sacred character of the king, acquired by anointment and by the peculiar relations existing between himself and the clergy, had been neglected by Henry, but Otto revived it. The dukes had been his father's equals; Otto determined to make them his officials. Henry had not relied on the clergy, because he was determined to be on friendly terms with the dukes; Otto, on the other hand, needed the help of the clergy to strip the dukes of their power. The events connected with his election and coronation show the difference between his ideals and those of his father. There had been some dissatisfaction with Henry because of his simplicity, and there was now a desire that the traditions of Karl the Great should be revived. In accordance with this wish, Aachen, the ancient capital, was appointed as the place for the formal election of Otto. All the dukes and the highest nobil-

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His coronation.

ity were present, and Otto was anointed and crowned with great pomp. Afterward he partook of the coronation banquet, at which he was served by the dukes. Duke Giselbert of Lorraine was his chamberlain, *i.e.*, he had charge of the palace, Eberhard of Franconia was his steward or dish-bearer, Hermann of Suabia his cup-bearer, and Arnulf of Bavaria his marshal.

But Otto's haughty manner angered the dukes, and they plotted with his ambitious brothers for his overthrow. A long struggle ensued, in which Otto was successful in dispossessing all the dukes, and making their duchies dependent on himself by giving them to members of his own family. As a counterpoise to the power of the nobles, Otto followed the policy of strengthening the clergy by enriching them and conferring authority upon them.[1] The clergy thus became a large and powerful part of the nobility. This policy proved to be disastrous, for in the struggle which came later between the Empire and the Papacy, the clergy of Germany turned against their benefactors and helped destroy them.

Otto's policy toward the Barbarians.

Toward the Barbarians east of Germany Otto had a well-defined policy. In 955, on the Lech river, near Augsburg, he won a decisive victory over the Magyars, and put an end to their invasions by compelling them, after accepting Christianity, to settle in the territory which they have ever since occupied (Hungary). The Slavs, too, were compelled to acknowledge Otto's over-lordship. As a defence against them several marches were established along the whole eastern frontier and put under able men.

The Slavs Christianized and Germanized.

Magdeburg was made the religious capital of the Slavs by establishing there an Archbishop. Mission work was vigorously carried on among them, and for this purpose Otto

[1] Bryce: The Holy Roman Empire, Chap. VIII., develops this thought at some length.

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established the bishoprics of Havelberg, Brandenburg, Merseburg, Zeitz, Meissen, and Posen. Monasteries arose everywhere, and the monks became not only the missionaries but also the teachers and civilizers of these barbarian peoples. German colonists went with the monks and clergy, and the process of Germanizing the Slavs was begun. To Otto the Great belongs the honor of having pointed out the direction in which Germany should expand. The way to the west was closed, but to the east there were extensive territories which could be conquered and Germanized. If these peoples could be kept dependent on Germany for their civilization and Christianity, it must inevitably follow that they would lose their nationality and become German. From this time on the expansion of Germany to the east among these peoples, her conquest and absorption of them, is one of the most important parts of her history. In this way all of Prussia that lies east of the Elbe was won from the Slavs. Bohemia and Hungary were not Germanized because through the weakness of the successors of Otto they succeeded in getting an independent ecclesiastical establishment, thereby preserving their own nationality.

The condition of Italy.

Since the coronation of Arnulf, Italy had fallen upon evil times. She was hopelessly divided, the theatre of contending peoples and factions. The Greek Emperor held many places in the southern part of the peninsula, while the Mohammedans had possession of Sicily and other islands, and a few ports on the mainland. In Rome the Pope claimed to be master, but the city was the prey of factions among the nobility. The duchies of Benevento and Spoleto were practically independent. Lombardy was divided into a large number of insignificant principalities, whose rulers were all striving for the control of Italy and the royal or imperial crown. One of these contestants, Lothar of Provence, died in 950, and his widow, Adelaide, a Bur-

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gundian princess, was seized by another claimant of the crown for the purpose of compelling her to marry his son. Disliking the proposed union, Adelaide appealed to the King of Germany for protection. Otto gallantly responded by crossing the Alps (951) and marrying the princess himself. It was his intention to go on to Rome, but revolts at home made his speedy return to Germany necessary.

Otto's first journey to Italy.

During this period the Papacy was sadly smirched. The magnificent claims of Leo the Great to be the Bishop of the whole Church were now entirely forgotten in the chaos of contending parties. The noble families of Rome were divided into factions, each of which strove to make one of its number Bishop, in order to enjoy the authority which that office possessed. The duke of Spoleto had a party, as did also Berengar and the other phantom kings who displayed their weakness in the unfortunate peninsula. There was a German faction and an anti-German, one which objected to any interference on the part of the German king. The rage and violence shown by these factions is almost incredible. In 891 Formosus, a friend of Arnulf of Germany, was made Pope. Throughout his pontificate he was known to be an ally of the German Emperor, and the bitterness against him was intense. After his death Boniface VI. succeeded him, but died fourteen days after his election. The faction of Spoleto elected one of their partisans, Stephen VI. His hatred of the Germans was so great that he had the remains of Formosus exhumed in order to go through the forms of a trial. The body of Formosus was clothed in pontifical robes, placed on a papal throne, and charges made against him, in a synod called together for this purpose. The verdict was, of course, unfavorable, and his body was mutilated and thrown into the Tiber.

Roman factions.

From 896 to 903 there were no less than eight Popes.

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The power of the feudal aristocracy is shown by the fact that the Papacy then fell under the power of Theodora, the wife of Constantine, a Roman senator, and her daughters. One of them, Marozia, it is said, was the mistress of Pope Sergius III. (904–11), to whom she bore a child, later Pope John XI. (931–36). In 914 Theodora raised to the Papacy one of her former lovers, who ruled as John X. (914–28). Italy was troubled by invasions of both Saracens and Magyars, and John X. showed his ability by valiantly resisting both enemies. The Pornocracy.

Marozia had now become the wife of Alberic, margrave of Camerino. He quarrelled with Pope John X., but was unable to conquer him. At Alberic's death she married Guido, margrave of Tuscany, and continued the struggle with the Pope. She was now more successful. John X. was overcome and died in prison (928). After setting up two weak Popes, Marozia then elevated her son, John XI., to the papal throne (931–36). On the death of her husband Guido, she married Hugo, who had recently been crowned king of Italy. Her son Alberic, however, resented this marriage and succeeded in driving Hugo out of Rome and making himself the real master of the city with the title of "Princeps atque omnium Romanorum senator." Until his death in 954 Alberic held the power in Rome, not only over the city but also over the Popes. The writings of the times contain many invectives, but few charges, against Alberic. As a governor he had much ability. He tried to ally himself with the eastern Emperor, and he was interested in the Cluniac reform to such an extent that he asked bishop Odo of Clugny to restore the discipline in, and reform the monasteries of, Rome. His only offence, a great one to be sure in the eyes of the churchmen of his age, was that he kept the Papacy thoroughly under his control and used the Pope as one of his officials. Alberic even wished Marozia and her three husbands. Her son Alberic.

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The Papacy to become hereditary.

to make the Papacy hereditary in his family. His son Octavian, a boy of sixteen years, succeeded him in authority, and a year later was made Pope. He took the title of John XII. (955). His pontificate was disgraceful in the extreme, and he shocked the city with his mad pranks and open debauchery. Both he and the people of Lombardy are said to have appealed to Otto for protection against the tyranny of the usurper. At any rate, Otto again appeared in Italy, and after being crowned Emperor (962), spent several months in renovating the Papacy and restoring order. The people of Rome took an oath to him that they would never elect a Pope without first consulting him.

Under Otto the Great Germany was made the first power in Europe. In 973 he celebrated Easter at Quedlinburg, and held there a great assembly, where he received embassies from Rome, Constantinople, from the Hungarians, Bulgarians, Russians, Slavs, and Danes. The dukes of Bohemia and Poland came in person to do him homage. A few days later he died at Memleben, and was buried in Magdeburg, his favorite city.

Death of Otto I., 973.

Importance of his reign.

The reign of Otto the Great is an important one in the history of the civilization of Germany. It has already been stated that he allied himself with, and strengthened, the clergy in order to resist the dukes, but while using them in this way, Otto did not lower their tone. His bishops and Archbishops were all men of ability and genuine piety. His reign is noted for a revival in both religion and learning. Several members of his family occupied high positions in the Church; Bruno, his brother, became Archbishop of Cologne; one of his sons, William, was Archbishop of Mainz, his uncle, Robert, bishop of Trier; other relatives became prominent bishops, abbots, and abbesses. All these performed their duties to the Church as well as to the Emperor without any conflict. At the court itself no im-

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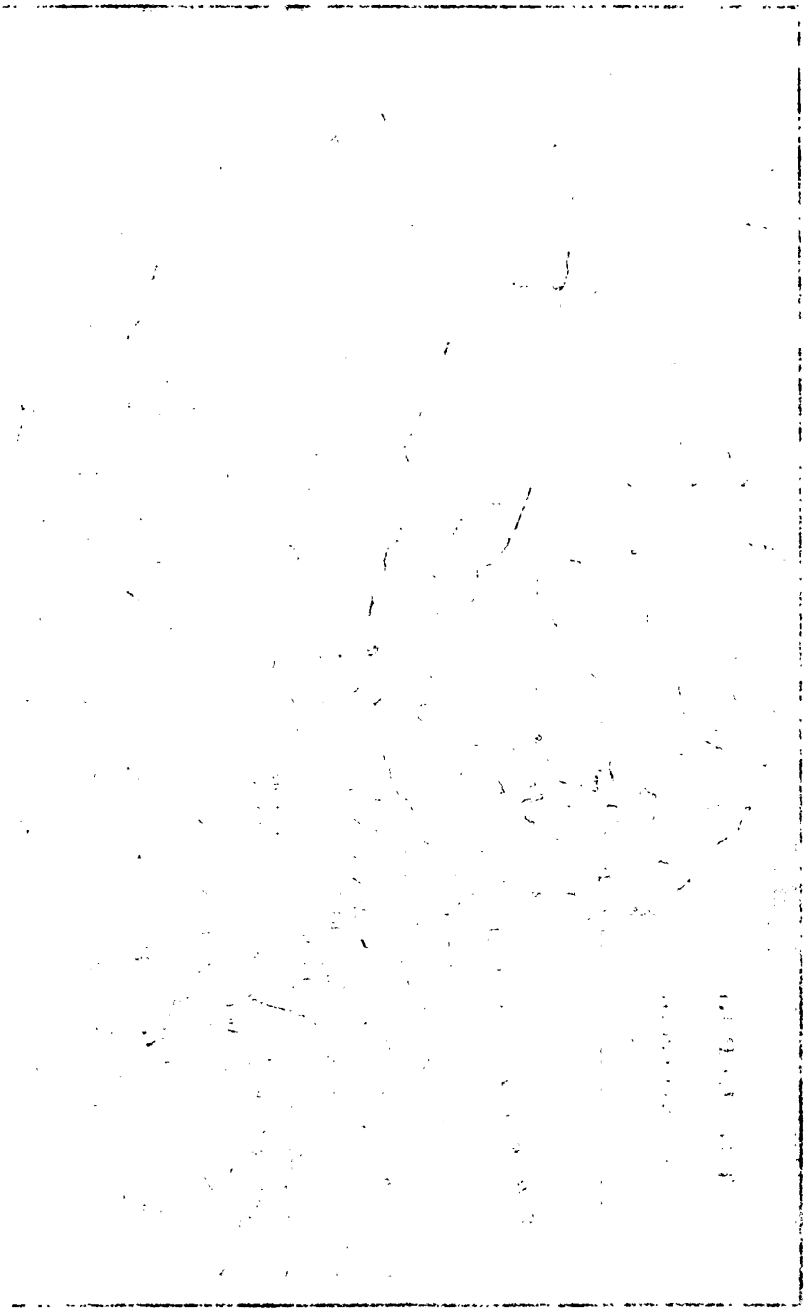

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Burgundy was a Vassal-State of the Empire until 1032, when it was incorporated under Conrad II.

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morality was tolerated. Otto surrounded himself also with learned men, and his age is marked by great literary activity. Many of the great monasteries kept chronicles. Some important biographies were composed, poems and comedies were written, among them Liutprand's History of Otto, the Annals of Quedlinburg, Hildesheim, and St. Gall, Widukind's Res Gestæ Saxonicæ, Ekkehard's Walthari Lied, and the historical poems and dramas of Hrotsuitha, a nun in the monastery of Gandersheim. Her "Lapsus et Conversio Theophili" is regarded as the oldest poetical treatment of the Faust legend of the Middle Age. In the monasteries, Terence, Horace, Virgil, Sallust, and Cicero were read. Otto imitated also the Schola Palatina of Karl the Great. His brother Bruno was with him continually, and a kind of court school was kept up. Otto himself tried to learn Latin, but never became able to speak it well. During his reign also German became a literary language. A harmony of the gospels was composed in it and a great epic poem written called the Heliand (The Saviour). It is a life of Jesus put into a German setting. It is full of German customs, manners, and ways of thinking and is one of the most important sources of our knowledge of the condition of the German mind in those times.

Italy and Germany united.

By receiving the imperial crown, Otto renewed the political bonds which had once held Germany and Italy together. This union was in many respects fatal to both countries. Instead of exerting themselves in an effort to unite Germany and to centralize the power, the Emperors, drawn into a long and fatal struggle with the Papacy, wore themselves out in making fruitless Italian campaigns, which ended disastrously to the Hohenstaufen line. France and England were unified under their own kings, while Italy and Germany were unable to achieve political unity till in our own day.

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Otto II., 973–83.

Otto II. (973–83), although able, resisted in vain the decadence that had begun. The Barbarians destroyed the system of marches on the frontier and checked the extension of Germany to the east. Otto II. was succeeded by his three-year-old son, Otto III. (983–1002), who was brought up by his mother and tutors in the fantastical idea that he should restore Rome to her former greatness by making her the seat of his government. He made several journeys into Italy to restore order and reform the Papacy. In 996 he made his cousin Pope Gregory V., and in 999 elevated to the Papacy his tutor, Gerbert, the most learned man of his age, with the name of Silvester II. Leaving Germany at the mercy of the nobles and the Barbarians, Otto III. went to Italy and took up his residence on the Aventine Hill (1001). His death the next year ended a reign that was as disastrous for Germany as for the imperial power.

Otto III., 983–1002.

Henry II., the Saint, 1002–24.

Henry II. (1002–24), known as the Saint, by allying himself closely to the clergy, and giving his attention principally to Germany, was able, partially, to revive the failing authority of the king. The work was taken up and more successfully prosecuted by his successor, Conrad II. (1024–39), duke of Franconia. He increased the royal authority in every way possible. By the bequest of the last king of Burgundy he inherited that kingdom (1032). He got possession of the duchies in Germany, and either held them himself or gave them to members of his family. He reduced Bohemia and Poland to partial subjection. He sought to diminish the feudal power of the great nobles by decreeing that their subjects owed the king military service directly and must come at his call. He won the sympathy of all sub-vassals by declaring their fiefs hereditary and forbidding the great lords to dispossess them without sufficient cause.

Conrad II., 1024–39.

By increasing the territory of the Empire and strengthen-

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ing the boundaries, by attaching the smaller nobles to himself and getting full possession of the duchies, Conrad II. laid the foundation for the prosperous reign of his son, Henry III. (1039-56). Although Henry III. was unsuccessful against both the Slavs and Hungarians, he was able to hold the turbulent nobles of Germany in check. According to feudal principles, everyone had the right of private war. Anyone who suffered violence might gather as large a force as he could muster and avenge himself on the offender. The Church had forbidden all fighting (the Peace of God) but in vain. The Church then ordered that there should be no fighting or violence done from Wednesday evening till the following Monday morning (the Truce of God). Henry III. not only sanctioned this, but assumed the right to punish all who should in any way disturb the peace of the land.

Henry III., 1039-56.

Unlike his father, Henry III. did not practise simony. He appointed both bishops and abbots, and was careful to choose only men that were worthy and able to fill the position. He never sold church offices. Taking up the great movement which had its origin in the monastery of Clugny, he endeavored to reform the morals and life of the clergy of Germany in accordance therewith. He fostered the schools in the monasteries and established other schools for laymen, attendance at which he even thought of making compulsory on the children of the nobles.

Henry made two journeys into Italy (1046 and 1055), during the first of which he received the imperial crown. The Papacy had again become a city office in the hands of factions. Each party elected a Pope, whenever its needs seemed to demand such action. When Henry reached Italy (1046) he found three Popes claiming the office. In councils at Sutri and Rome he deposed all three, assumed the title of Patricius, and, declaring it was his right to name the Bishop of Rome, elevated to that position Sudgar of

Henry III. reforms the Papacy.

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Bamberg, who took the name of Clement II. During the rest of his reign Henry three times filled the office, always with excellent men. In Italy he opposed simony in all its forms and refused to take bribes from the candidates for the papal throne. The Cluniac ideas were rapidly gaining ground, and, since Henry was in hearty sympathy with them, he did all he could to establish them, working harmoniously with the Popes and other reformers to make the Church what she should be.

Henry III. wished to be an absolute master and rule in an autocratic way. His treatment of the nobles was especially distasteful to them, and at his death in 1056 the opportunity was offered them to regain their much-coveted power. He left a son, Henry IV., only six years old, who was no match for them. The Emperors, Henry III. not least, had done everything they could to make the Church great and powerful, believing that the clergy would always be grateful and true to their benefactors. Just at the critical time, however, when Henry IV. was a mere boy and more than ever needed their help, they deserted him and supported the high pretensions of a foreigner, the Bishop of Rome. The Emperor had claimed and exercised the right to appoint the Pope. The tables were now to be turned and the Pope was soon to claim the authority to make and unmake both kings and Emperors. The fatal struggle between the Papacy and the Emperor for the supremacy of the world was about to begin.

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CHAPTER VIII

ENGLAND AND THE NORSEMEN (802–1070)

THE struggle for supremacy, which lasted for three hundred years, among the small kingdoms of England, was practically ended during the reign of Ecgberht, who ascended the throne of Wessex in 802. Northumbria and Mercia, the two great rivals of Wessex, were worn out with the long wars, so that Ecgberht found it comparatively easy to make himself the over-lord of all the country. He had spent thirteen years in exile at the court of Karl the Great, and had no doubt learned much and had his ambitions quickened by what he saw of the successes of the great Frankish king. In his government Ecgberht showed wise consideration. In order to conciliate the people of Northumbria and Mercia, who were Angles, he determined in a council (826) that the land should be called, not Saxony, although he himself was a Saxon, but Anglia.

Ecgberht, 802–39.

The supremacy which Wessex now enjoyed might have been as ephemeral as that of some of the other kingdoms but for the fact that for nearly one hundred and fifty years after Ecgberht its throne was occupied by able kings who wisely secured the assistance of the clergy in all that they did. The fusion of the kingdoms into one people was also hastened by the great common danger which now threatened them from the Northmen. As early as 787 the eastern coast of England had been attacked by pirates from the continent. Their ravages became more and more frequent, and the king found it difficult to defeat them or to derive

Invasions of the Northmen.

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any solid advantage from a victory over them. During the reign of Ecgberht they harried all the country incessantly. His son and successor, Aethelwulf (839–58), was unable to stem the tide of invasion. In 851 they were bold enough to spend the winter on the island of Thanet.

Aethelwulf was succeeded by his four sons in the order of their age: Aethelbald (858–60), Aethelberht (860–66), Aethelred (866–71), and Aelfred the Great (871–901). The task of defending the country against these barbarian invaders became more difficult as great numbers of them began to settle on the east coast. In 866 the Danes began the work of conquest and settlement in earnest. Northumbria was quickly overrun and subdued by them. East Anglia and the Fen were next attacked and conquered, their famous monasteries were burned, and the king of East Anglia, Eadmund, was slain. This king was later canonized, and over his remains was built the great abbey of St. Edmundsbury. Mercia was not yet attacked, but in 870 its king paid the Danes tribute and acknowledged their leader as over-lord. Back of this submission was not only fear of the Danes, but also dislike of the West Saxon supremacy.

King Aethelred was left with only the territory south of the Thames; all north of that river was now in the hands of the Danes. For some time it seemed that all England was to be conquered. The Danes pushed up the Thames and out into Wessex, and Aethelred was unable to drive them back. In the midst of the war he died, leaving his crown to his brother Aelfred, who tried in vain to repel the invaders. After several defeats, in which his army was destroyed, he was compelled to buy the withdrawal of the Danes, hoping that in the meantime he might be able to put the country into a proper state of defence. Re-enforcements continued to come from Denmark and Scandi-

Aelfred the Great, 871–901.

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navia, and in 876 Guthrum, the Danish king of East Anglia, attacked Wessex. For two years the struggle was severe, but it ended in favor of Aelfred by the treaty of Wedmore (Chippenham) in 878; Guthrum accepted Christianity and was ceded the eastern half of England north of the Thames. This territory was called the Dane-law. The conquerors settled as lords of the soil, and for a long time kept themselves separate from the conquered English. The fusion of the two peoples, however, came eventually.

Wedmore, 878.

During the remaining years of Aelfred's rule he had peace with the Danes, except in 886, when he was successful in wresting from them London and the surrounding districts, and again in 893, when he was also successful in his defence. The condition of his territory at the peace of Wedmore was wretched in the extreme. Churches and monasteries had been burned, the clergy slain or driven out, and law and order destroyed; everywhere there was great want and desolation. His first care was to train up an army to have it ready at his call. The country was divided into five districts, each of which was bound to furnish a certain number of men with provisions and equipment. Every town also was required to do the same. A part of the troops raised in this way were required to be ready to go whenever called, while the others were to remain at home as a guard. A threefold duty was laid on every landed proprietor. He must serve in the army, and contribute to the support of bridges and fortifications (trinoda necessitas). Aelfred created a fleet which patrolled the coast and kept off the invaders. He restored order, punishing severely and impartially all offenders. As on the continent, so in England, everyone had the right of private war, but Aelfred enforced peace. The king's justice also took the place of the local justice. The king also

Aelfred's Government.

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carefully controlled the decisions of the lower courts, and changed them if they were not according to his ideas. The independent legislation of Aelfred was probably not very great, but he had the laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings and peoples collected and reduced to writing in the Anglo-Saxon language.

Learning.

Aelfred labored hard to restore learning in his kingdom. Late in life he began the study of Latin, and mastered it so well that he was able to translate from it into his mother tongue. He surrounded himself with scholars, most of whom he brought from the continent, and established a court school very much like that of Karl the Great. His own translations, however, were of most value to his people. From the Latin he translated the "Consolations of Philosophy," by Boethius; the "History of the World," by Orosius; the "Ecclesiastical History of the English," by the Venerable Bede; and the "Pastoral Rule," by Gregory the Great. It was under his direction, also, that the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" was compiled and continued. While all these works, except the latter, are translations, they contain also many additions from the pen of the king himself. Because of his moral greatness, and because of the fact that he regarded himself as the servant of his people, he has been given the well-earned title "Great."

The task that devolved on the successors of Aelfred was to prevent, if possible, any further migration from the continent, to reconquer the Danelaw, to hasten the fusion of the Danes with the English, and to keep down the tribal revolts and make England really one. Fortunately his successors were all able men (Eadward the Elder, 901–24; Aethelstan, 924–40; Eadmund, 940–46; Eadred, 946–55), who carried on the work well. Eadwig (955–59) was a mere boy, and his reign was troubled by quarrels

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among the nobles. But with the accession of Eadred (946) had come in a new power in the person of Dunstan, who was the first of that line of remarkable ecclesiastical statesmen which England has produced. Under Eadred, Eadwig, Eadgar (959–75), Eadward the Martyr (975–79), and Aethelred the Redeless (979–1016), until his death in 988, Dunstan was much of the time the power behind the throne. Commerce with the continent was fostered, order was preserved, and the Church and monasteries thoroughly reformed. The old slavery was disappearing, but in its stead the feudal rule was becoming established. The power of the king greatly increased and he was looked upon as king of all England and not simply of the West Saxons. The king now developed a court composed of his friends and officials, who formed a new nobility over against the old nobility of blood. The king took possession of the folk land, that is, the land which had been left for the common use, and enriched his servants by dividing up much of it among them. At the same time the Folkmoot, the meeting of all the freemen, ceased, being replaced by the Witenagemot, the meeting of the wise men (*i.e.*, the officials, with the highest clergy).

Dunstan.

The reign of Aethelred the Redeless (*i.e.*, without counsel; not the unready) was very disastrous. Utterly incapable of ruling, he involved England more and more deeply in ruin and misery. In 991 the Danes began to invade England again, and he bought a truce of them and allowed them to settle in East Anglia. Other invasions followed, led by Olaf of Norway and Swein of Denmark. Frightened at the danger which now threatened him, Aethelred tried to secure the assistance of Normandy by allying himself to its duke, whose sister, Emma, he married. Goaded to frenzy by the presence of the Danes who had recently come, the English planned to massacre them, and in 1002

Renewed Invasions of the Danes.

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they rose and put all the Danes among them to death. Among the slain was Gunhild, the sister of king Swein, who now swore to avenge her death by taking England from her king. From 1003 to 1007 his army overran England, plundering and burning. Aethelred bought a truce of him, but he went on preparing for a larger invasion. In 1013 he came back, and soon had all England in his power, while Aethelred was compelled to flee to Normandy. But Swein's rule was of short duration. He died the next year, and the Danish warriors chose his son Knut as his successor. The death of Aethelred and his son Eadmund Ironside left Knut master of all England. He reigned from 1016 to 1035 with a strong hand and wisely over his newly acquired realm. Under him the old kingdoms lost more and more of their character as kingdoms and became known as earldoms. He became a Christian in character as well as in name, and allied himself with the clergy. By renewing the laws of his predecessors and preserving English customs, he tried to make the people forget that he was a foreigner. He further strengthened his position by marrying Emma, the widow of Aethelred. He brought England peace, for, during his reign, the land was free from disturbances. Denmark, however, profited most by this conquest of England, for she was thereby brought into close contact with a nation far more civilized than herself, and her union with England greatly forwarded Christianity in all the countries of the north. The Danes differed from the people in England very little in blood, language, customs, and laws, and their settlement in England may be regarded as a reënforcement of German blood and a strengthening of the English character.

Swein, the Dane, King of England.

Knut, 1016–35.

At the death of Knut (1035) he was succeeded by his two sons in turn, Harold (1035–40) and Harthaknut (1040–42). They were, however, thoroughly barbarous and unfitted in

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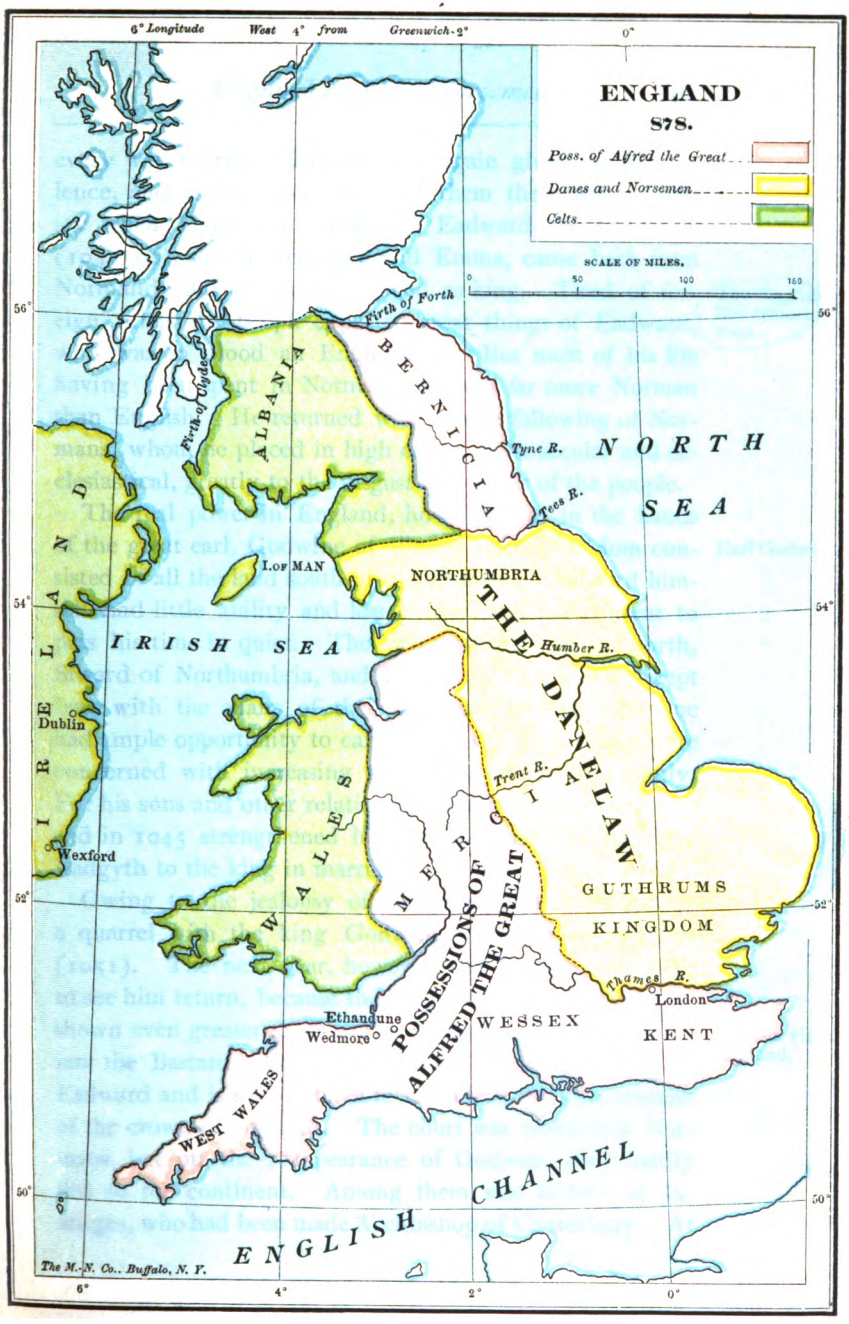

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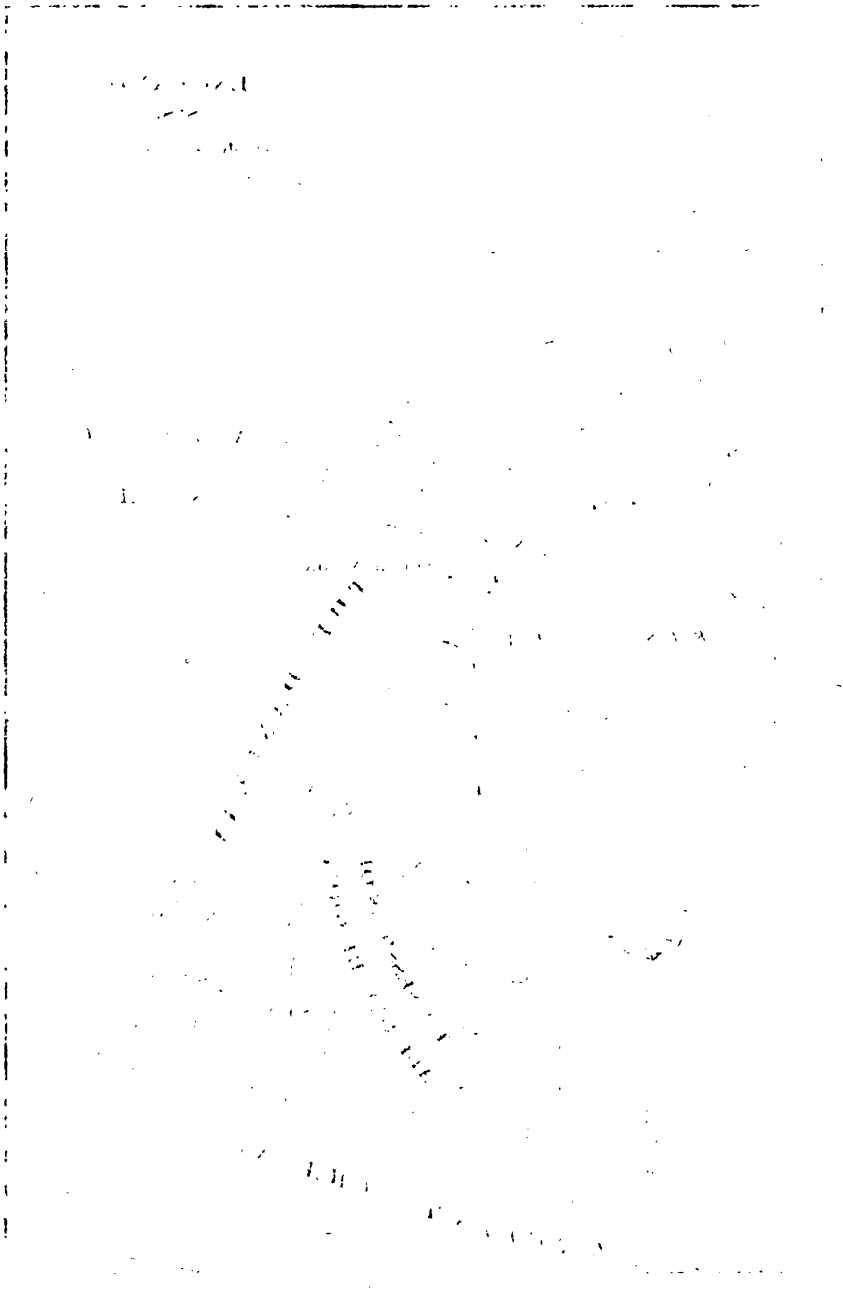

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every way to rule. England was again given up to violence, and as the people disliked them there was general joy when Harthaknut died and Eadward the Confessor (1042–66), son of Aethelred and Emma, came back from Normandy and was acknowledged as king. Tired of foreign rulers the people expected great things of Eadward, who was in blood an Englishman. But most of his life having been spent in Normandy he was far more Norman than English. He returned with a large following of Normans, whom he placed in high offices, both secular and ecclesiastical, greatly to the disgust and anger of the people.

The English line restored, 1042.

The real power in England, however, was in the hands of the great earl, Godwine of Wessex, whose earldom consisted of all the land south of the Thames. Eadward himself had little ability and less energy, and was content to pass his time in quiet. The two great earls of the north, Siward of Northumbria, and Leofric of Mercia, were kept busy with the affairs of their earldoms, so that Godwine had ample opportunity to carry out his plans. These were concerned with increasing the power of his own family. For his sons and other relatives he obtained small earldoms, and in 1045 strengthened himself by giving his daughter Eadgyth to the king in marriage.

Earl Godwine.

Owing to the jealousy of the other great earls and to a quarrel with the king Godwine withdrew to Flanders (1051). The next year, however, the English were glad to see him return, because the king had, in the meanwhile, shown even greater favor to the Normans. In 1051 William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, visited the childless Eadward and is said to have received from him the promise of the crown of England. The court was filled with Normans, but on the reappearance of Godwine they hastily fled to the continent. Among them was Robert of Jumièges, who had been made Archbishop of Canterbury. At

William visits England.

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his flight the high office was given to an Englishman. This action offended the Pope, for, according to the papal claims, no Church official could be deposed except by ecclesiastical authority. Godwine died soon after, and was succeeded in the leadership by his son Harold.

Since Eadward was childless, it was necessary to determine who should succeed him. Although not of the royal line, Harold was the only possible candidate. His earldom was the largest in England. He was the right-hand man of the king, and he had shown the greatest ability both as a ruler and warrior. There was nothing to do but revive the old German custom of electing the ablest man king, and it was accordingly agreed that Harold should succeed his royal master.

Harold promised the crown.

During his last years Eadward became even more inactive than before. The management of affairs was wholly in the hands of Harold, who put down a dangerous revolt in Wales, maintained peace and order throughout the kingdom, and administered the laws equitably. In England there was but one family which could contest the crown with him, that of Leofric of Mercia, and this he conciliated by making Morkere, the brother of Leofric, earl of Northumbria, in the place of his own brother Tostig, against whom the Northumbrians had rebelled. On the death of Eadward, January 5, 1066, Harold was elected and crowned without opposition.

The Northmen.

The German tribes of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were almost entirely free from Roman influence till the ninth century. Christianity had certainly gained no hold upon them. They lived in independent groups, without any central government. But during the ninth century several leaders arose in various parts, who united many of the tribes, much as Chlodwig had united the Franks in the fifth century. Three kingdoms were established, known

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respectively as the kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Since the leaders and nobles of the conquered tribes were too proud to submit to a conqueror they turned to the sea, hoping to preserve their independence. At first they played the part of pirates, attacking the coasts of Gaul, Germany, northern Spain, and even Italy. Ascending the rivers for many miles they robbed, plundered, and burned all the towns they could. They attacked monasteries and churches because of the treasures which they were known to contain. At first these raids were made in the summer, and the pirates returned to their homes for the winter. Gradually, however, they began to spend the winter also in the countries which they were plundering. They seized the land and settled upon it, and these winter settlements became permanent. As their success became known at home they were joined by large numbers of their fellow-countrymen who were eager to have a share in their prosperity. Terms were made with the lord of the land, and these unwelcome guests made themselves at home and identified themselves with the country in which they settled. It was plainly to their interest that not too many Norsemen should join them, since their own portions would be thereby diminished; they therefore resisted all further immigration as well as piratical invasions by their countrymen.

Their character.

These Norsemen possessed to a marked degree the German characteristic, adaptability. In France they became Frenchmen, in England, Englishmen, in Russia, Russians. They did not, however, lose their individuality. They preserved their courage, their genius for governing and their bodily vigor, their love of war and their thirst for fame. Like the Goths, when they migrated they left their religion at home, but not their religiousness. They accepted Roman Christianity with a heartiness which soon

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made them the champions of the Papacy. They rebuilt the burned monasteries and churches and soon became the most zealous pilgrims of all Europe. They had the greatest regard for holy places and persons, and from pirates turned to Christian knights.

The Norsemen in the east.

The lands to the east of the Baltic were attacked by the Norsemen also. About the middle of the ninth century they began to make settlements on the coast, and their leader, Rurik, succeeded in uniting the tribes of Finns, Lapps, Letts, and others who were scattered over what is now western Russia. He and his successors extended their power into the interior. Novgorod, on Lake Illman, and Kiev, on the Dnieper, became their most important centres. For more than seven hundred years the family of Rurik held the kingship and ruled over a large part of what is now Russia. In their raids to the east and south they came into contact with Constantinople, from which they received Christianity and the rudiments of civilization. In the tenth century a large body of Norsemen sailed down the Volga and raided a part of Persia. All the way from the Baltic to the Black Sea the Norsemen made settlements along the rivers, and thus was opened up a route of travel and commerce between the Scandinavian countries and Constantinople and the east. From the many coins of Bohemia, Hungary, and Constantinople, and even of the Khalifs of Bagdad, which have been found in Sweden, we must infer that this commerce was very considerable. Christian pilgrims from the north regarded this as the most convenient way of reaching Palestine, because they found some of their countrymen all along the route. In the eleventh century many Norsemen went to Constantinople to seek their fortunes and offer their services to the Emperor, who enrolled large numbers of them in his bodyguard.

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About 800 the Norsemen began to settle in the Hebrides, Orkneys, and Shetland Islands, which up to this time were occupied only by Irish monks and hermits. From these islands they spread to the mainland of Scotland, and in the course of about a hundred years all these settlements were united into one kingdom. In the ninth century they took possession of Iceland, which soon became thoroughly Norse. There the Norse customs and traditions were preserved in greater purity and for a longer time than in their original home.[1] In the tenth century the Norsemen settled in Greenland, and kept in constant intercourse with their mother country till the fourteenth century when they disappeared; from what cause is unknown. In the west.

About the year 1000, Norse sailors discovered the coast of America, and several efforts were made to plant colonies there, but without success. On the east and south coasts of Ireland they also made many settlements, some of which continued to exist till far into the twelfth century. Their invasions of England have already been recounted, as well as those of France. The settlement of Rolf in the valley of the lower Seine (Normandy) resulted in the establishment of a powerful duchy which soon put an end to the invasions from the north. Duke Rolf (911–27) and his successors (William Longsword, 927–43; Richard the Fearless, 943–96; Richard the Good, 996–1027; and Robert the Magnificent, 1027–35) ruled with a strong hand, and Normandy was soon one of the strongest as well as best-governed duchies of France. The laws were enforced, order preserved, and the vassals kept in subjection. In 911 Rolf had agreed to accept Christianity, and in spite of occasional backslidings he and his pirates became devoted adherents of the Church. Normandy was noted for Normandy.

[1] Cf. the Eddas and Sagas of the Norsemen, which were written in Iceland.

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its churches, monasteries, and schools. The abbey of Bec was known throughout Europe because of its founder, Lanfranc, and its great prior, Anselm. Robert the Magnificent, at his death, in 1035, left only a bastard son, William, seven years old, to succeed him. When William attained his majority and attempted to rule independently many of his subjects revolted. There was a bitter struggle, but William proved himself master of all his enemies and administered the affairs of his duchy with as much ability and firmness as any of his predecessors.

William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, 1035-87.

Eadward the Confessor is said to have promised his crown to William, who was his cousin. Another story of still more doubtful authenticity relates how Harold was shipwrecked on the coast of France and fell into the hands of William, who compelled him to take an oath that he would support William's claim to the throne. When the news of the accession of Harold reached William he fell into a great rage and began to prepare to invade England and make good his pretensions to the crown. He is said to have called on Harold to keep his promise, but Harold paid no attention to his summons. He sent to the Pope certain charges against Harold, and promised, in return for the papal support and sanction, to put the Church of England under the control of Rome. Alexander II. gave William his blessing on these terms and sent him a consecrated banner. The Pope further assisted him in his negotiations with the Emperor and the king of Denmark. William, in the meantime, built a fleet and collected his troops from every possible source.

William claims the English crown, 1066.

King Harold was threatened with a double danger on his accession to the throne. His brother Tostig had revolted and fled to Harold Hardrada, king of Denmark, whom he urged to invade England. Harold also learned of the preparations of William, but was uncertain when these at-

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tacks would be made. He collected an army and patrolled the coasts, but since no enemy appeared his men gradually left and went to their homes. Suddenly Harold Hardrada and Tostig landed on the coast of Yorkshire, defeated the troops of the earls Edwin and Morkere, and took the city of York. King Harold hastened to the north, met the invaders near Stamford Bridge and utterly defeated them, September 25th. On the same day William landed, unhindered, near Pevensey, with an army of about fifty thousand men, and began to ravage the country. By forced marches Harold hastened to the south to meet this new foe. Although deserted by the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, Edwin and Morkere, he nevertheless determined to risk a battle without first collecting new troops and allowing his army to recuperate. On a hill, known later as Senlac, Harold took a strong position, and was able for some hours to resist the onslaught of the Normans. In the end, however, he was slain, his guard cut down, and the rest of his troops put to flight. William had won the day and with it the crown of England.

King Harold at Stamford Bridge.

The battle of Hastings.

William's first care was to get possession of Kent and Sussex, the inhabitants of which were frightened into submission by his violence toward those who resisted him. He marched toward London and, hoping to overawe the city, burned Southwark. The gates, however, were closed against him and the people elected as their king Eadgar the Aetheling, a grandson of Eadmund Ironside. The earls of Mercia and Northumbria, Edwin and Morkere, were present at the election, but when William crossed the Thames and threatened their territories they withdrew from the city to look after their own interests. Seeing that resistance was hopeless the people offered the crown to William. He entered the city, and on Christmas-day, 1066, was crowned in Westminster by the Archbishop Ealdred.

London.

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William crowned, 1066.

The crown was his by right of conquest, but he was also formally elected by the people of London, and in his coronation by the Archbishop the Church set its seal upon his title and supplied what was lacking in the legitimacy of his claims.

Thus far only the southeastern portion of England (bounded by a line from the Wash to Dorsethead) was actually in William's hands. To secure London he built a strong fortress, which afterward became the famous tower. The earls of Mercia and Northumbria submitted to him only nominally. In order to justify the seizure of whatever lands he might desire, William declared that the election and acknowledgment of Harold as king was an act of treason, punishable with forfeiture and death. All England was, therefore, guilty, and all the land was forfeited to William. He seized the possessions of all those who had borne arms against him, the rest being permitted to retain their lands on the payment of a fine. Otherwise there was for the present little change.

The land forfeit to William.

In 1067 England had become so quiet that William returned to Normandy, leaving the government in the hands of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, now earl of Kent, and William Fitz-Osbern, earl of Hereford. These, however, were untrue to their trusts and allowed the English to be oppressed by the Norman nobles. This led the English to revolt, but William returned in the same year and put down the rebellion. In the year 1068, however, a real national uprising took place. King Swein of Denmark came with a fleet to contest the possession of England with William. On his arrival in the Humber all the northern, western, and southwestern parts of England revolted, and the king of Scotland came to their aid. William hastened to the Humber and bought the withdrawal of the Danish fleet. He then turned to the revolted provinces and, since they were not united,

The English revolt.

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easily overcame them. Yorkshire especially suffered from his anger. So thoroughly did he devastate it that a famine followed which is said to have carried off more than a hundred thousand people, and nearly a century passed before the land was restored to its former state of cultivation. The most determined of the English fled to the Fens (the swampy district south of the Wash), and there offered brave resistance under the leadership of Hereward. Their destruction, however, ended all opposition, and England was thoroughly conquered. Scotland was next invaded and its king subjected. Being now in full possession, William set himself to keep in subjection and govern his hardly acquired kingdom.

Effect of the Conquest.

This Norman conquest of England had great influence on the history of England not simply because of the political changes which William introduced. He was not only king of England, but duke of Normandy, and a subject of the king of France. He was, moreover, a devoted friend of the Papacy. It was, therefore, inevitable that England should be closely associated with the continent; the English kings, proud of their continental possessions, would be involved in the territorial struggles of the French kings; and the claims of the Popes for universal dominion would the more easily include England. The conquest brought England again into intimate relations with the rest of Europe and made of her a continental power.

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CHAPTER IX

THE NORMANS IN ITALY

Southern Italy.

FROM the middle of the ninth century the Saracens had possession of Sicily, and also held many places on the mainland. The principal part of southern Italy, called the Theme of Lombardy, still belonged to the Emperor at Constantinople and was ruled by his officers. On the east coast these possessions extended to the north as far as Mount Gargano, and on the west almost to Salerno. To the north of this district was a large group of independent or semi-independent principalities, such as Salerno, Amalfi, Naples, Capua, Benevento, and Spoleto, which neither the Greek nor the German Emperor had been able to attach permanently to his interests. They spent their time in warring with one another, or with the garrisons of the Greeks or Saracens about them. They were mere political fragments, and their condition seemed hopelessly chaotic.

The Normans get possessions in southern Italy and become the Pope's vassals.

In 1016 some Normans, returning from a pilgrimage to Palestine, were shipwrecked near Salerno, and the prince of that town asked for and received their aid in a battle against the Saracens. The rewards which they carried back home with them fired the cupidity of some of their fellow-countrymen, and from this time we find Norman soldiers of fortune in southern Italy offering their services to the highest bidder. About 1027 the duke of Naples granted Aversa to a band of such adventurers, and by conquest they added other small territories to this. Having quarrelled with their allies, the Greeks, over the distribution of spoil, they at-

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tacked and conquered Apulia, which they organized into a kind of republic. The headship in this little state was acquired by William of the Iron Arm, who passed it on to his brothers, each of whom followed an aggressive policy of conquest and annexation. In 1053 they made war on Pope Leo IX. After taking him prisoner, they fell at his feet, begging forgiveness and asking to be made his vassals and confirmed in their title to the lands which they had conquered.

Robert Guiscard made duke, 1059.

In 1057 the ablest of the brothers, Robert Guiscard, succeeded to the title of count of Apulia. Two years later he appeared before Pope Nicholas II. (1059–61), gave him the oath of allegiance, and received in return the title of duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. Sicily and a part of Calabria were still in the hands of the Saracens, and the newly made duke set about their conquest. His brother Roger quickly overcame nearly all of Sicily, although the Saracens were not wholly driven out till about 1090. Robert ruled his duchy well; Amalfi was for awhile one of the principal commercial cities of Italy, and the schools of Salerno also added lustre to his name.

Sicily conquered.

A revolution in Constantinople gave Robert an opportunity to attempt to extend his territories to the east. In 1081 Alexius Comnenus usurped the power and expelled the Emperor Nicephorus III. Constantine, the son of the preceding Emperor, Michael VII., had married the daughter of Robert Guiscard. Apparently to restore his son-in-law, but probably to secure the crown for himself, Robert Guiscard gathered an army to invade the Greek Empire. He sought the support of Gregory VII., who gave him his blessing and promised to invest him with all the lands he might conquer. Durazzo, on the coast of Epirus, was first taken. Alexius sent Henry IV. of Germany large sums of money, and begged him to make an invasion into south-

Robert attacks the Greek Emperor.

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ern Italy. He secured the aid of the Venetians by granting them great commercial privileges, such as the freedom from tolls and the possession of a Venetian quarter in Constantinople. After capturing Durazzo, Robert forced his way into the interior. Towns and fortresses fell into his hands until he controlled all of Epirus and a large part of Thessaly. Thessalonica and Larissa were threatened, but at this moment Gregory VII., who was hard pressed by Henry IV., called on Robert to come to his aid. He left his army in charge of his son Boemund, and hastened to Rome, where he succeeded in driving off the Germans and freeing the Pope. But in Thessaly the diplomacy of Alexius won the victory. By offering large bribes he succeeded in winning over many of the Norman knights. He levied fresh troops in other parts of the Empire. Boemund's forces were gradually weakened by losses in battle, by sickness and desertions, so that Alexius was able to defeat him and gradually force him back to the Adriatic. At last, even Durazzo was retaken, and Boemund with his handful of men returned to Italy. Robert Guiscard soon renewed the attempt, but Alexius had in the meanwhile so strongly fortified and garrisoned the coast that Robert met with small success. His untimely death in the following year (1085) put an end to the invasion, and Boemund made peace with Alexius.

Death of Robert, 1085.

The work of Robert Guiscard was to live after him. By his conquests he had united Sicily and the southern part of Italy into one great duchy, which was to be the basis for the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. He was succeeded as duke by his brother Roger in 1085, who in turn was followed by his son Roger II. (1101). This second Roger inherited the well-known family characteristics, ambition and great ability, and succeeded in changing his duchy into a kingdom.

Basis for a new kingdom.

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The influence of the Normans in Europe.

We have followed the Norsemen in their settlements throughout Europe and shown how great their activity and importance were. They settled the islands far to the west and north, established a kingdom among the mixed peoples of what is now western Russia, added to the stock of German blood in England, established a great duchy in France, whose dukes and nobles conquered England and impressed upon it the Norman character; they created the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, threatened the eastern Empire, led the crusades, and established kingdoms in Asia; they were the most efficient allies of the Papacy in its long and bitter struggle with the Empire, and materially assisted in securing the Papal victory. Although they eventually either lost their possessions or were thoroughly amalgamated with the people of the conquered country, they nevertheless left their impress on Europe in many ways.

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CHAPTER X

FEUDALISM

Feudalism defined.

FEUDALISM is the name applied to the economic, social, and political relations and conditions existing in Europe from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. These economic relations are expressed by the phrase "feudal tenure of land," the theory underlying which was that the tenant or holder of any piece of land had only the use of it, for which he must pay certain dues as rent, to the man (lord or suzerain) from whom he had received it. Property in land was not absolute, but of a beneficiary nature; that is, the holder had only the benefits of the use of it, not the land itself. In theory the land belonged to God, who let it to the king, who, in turn, sublet it to his great vassals, and these then parcelled it out to their subjects.

Economic relations, feudal tenure.

Social relation, lord and vassal.

The general word expressing the social relations is "vassalage," which indicates the personal relation and bond existing between the man who thus held the land and the man from whom he had received it. It conveys on the side of the vassal the idea of social inferiority and the obligation to perform certain services for his lord.

Political relations, immunity.

The political relations are expressed by the word "immunity," which means that the holder of an estate is, in the matter of its government, free from all interference on the part of his lord; that is, with the use of the land he also received from his lord the right, within his own territory, to perform the judicial, executive, and even, to some extent, the legislative functions of government, and in the

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ordinary exercise of these functions he is free from all interference on the part of his lord. He is, therefore, on his own domain, to all intents and purposes, and, within certain limits, an independent king.

These three things—feudal tenure, vassalage, and immunity—are the essential features of feudalism.

Origin of feudalism.

This condition of affairs was the outcome of the chaos of the two centuries which followed the death of Karl the Great. Not even he had been able wholly to centralize the power, and to sustain a personal relation to all his subjects. He struggled during all his reign against the tendency to separation, and the ambitious efforts of various parts of his Empire to achieve local independence. The machinery of his government was not inherently weak; it needed only a strong and vigorous man to conduct it. Under his successors, in the ninth and tenth centuries, because of their weakness, and the struggles of rebellious sons and nobles, his Empire broke up into many pieces. There was no one to enforce the laws and preserve order, since the Emperor was too weak to do so. Men found that they could break the laws, therefore, with impunity. The strong oppressed the weak, seized their goods, their lands, and even their persons, forcing them into the position of vassals or serfs. This is the period of violence and usurpations, or what the Germans most appropriately call "Faustrecht," or fist right; the man with the strong arm might do whatever he chose. The wheels of government stopped, and the people had, therefore, to take care of themselves. Duruy has well stated this point: "Royalty no longer performed the duties for which it was instituted, and protection, which could not be obtained from the nominal head of the state, was now sought from the bishops, counts, barons, and all powerful men." Their attempts to take care of themselves resulted in a compli-

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cated set of customs and practices, the sum of which was feudalism. The weak man, in order that he might not be utterly destroyed by the violence of those who were stronger than he, often willingly surrendered all that he had to some bishop or count, put himself under his protection, and assumed the vassal relation. The violence and chaos of the ninth and tenth centuries produced these changes and brought about this condition of affairs. There were many customs prevalent among the peoples of Europe before the ninth century, which furnished certain elements of feudalism, but they were not what produced it. Such things as the German "comitatus," or "Gefolge," and the Gallic "commendation," undoubtedly were prototypes of some of the feudal customs, but these would not have developed into feudalism if it had not been for the chaotic economic, social, and political condition of Europe in those two centuries.

Office and lands become hereditary.

Under Karl the Great the tenure of office had depended upon his will; under his successors, many of the imperial and royal officials declared that they not only held their offices by a life tenure, but that these were also hereditary in their family. These claims they were able to make good in spite of the imperial opposition. In this way the judicial, executive, and legislative functions of the central government were usurped. Karl the Great had rewarded his officials with gifts of lands. Under his successors, all the holders of such lands succeeded in making their possessions hereditary in their family, while still recognizing the Emperor as the actual possessor of them.

Freehold lands become feudal.

Many who held land by the allodial (freehold or fee simple) tenure were deprived of their lands by force and reduced to the position of vassals. Others, when they saw themselves exposed to so great danger, bought protection by offering to surrender their lands to some lord on the condi-

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tion that he would protect them and permit them, as his tenants or vassals, to hold the same lands. In a former chapter attention has been called to the fact that under the Emperors of the sixth and seventh centuries, such a process was going on because of the heavy taxation and the oppression by the government. Previously all land had been held by the allodial tenure, but gradually this was so thoroughly changed that by the end of the twelfth century the principle was generally acknowledged that all land must have a feudal lord and be held by the feudal tenure. In the thirteenth century there was very little land in western and northern Europe held in any other way. Fiefs and vassalage, therefore, arose from grants, usurpations, seizures, and voluntary surrender.

Feudalism not a system.

Since feudalism grew out of the chaos of the times, it could hardly be expected that it would have a uniform character. In fact, the feudalism of one province differed from that of another. In the general stress and danger each one made such terms as he could with his lord. Feudalism is not a system, therefore; it is as chaotic and irregular as the period in which it arose. To almost every general statement about it exceptions could be found. Classifications are impossible, because of the great and numerous variations which are everywhere met with. It is a misnomer to speak of the feudal "system," since by that word the idea is conveyed that it is an orderly and uniform set of customs and regulations.

A great step toward better things was taken when Henry III. declared himself to be guardian of the public peace, or "peace of the land," and threatened to punish all who disturbed it. By this means private warfare was greatly limited. The chaos and anarchy of the ninth and tenth centuries yielded to regularity and order. The customs were more fixed and better observed. Feudalism became less

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chaotic, and society, therefore, more stable; violence became less and security greater; travel was possible because of the greater safety along the highways. The effect was seen at once in the steady revival of commerce, which became more pronounced as the eleventh century advanced.

The Church and Feudalism.

The Church was completely drawn into feudal relations. In those days of violence and rapine, the robber and plunderer had little or no regard for the property of the Church, or the lives of the churchmen. Churches and monasteries were, therefore, compelled to seek protection, just as individuals were. The bishop or priest, for his church or diocese, and the abbot or prior, for his monastery, surrendered the church's or monastery's property to some lord and received them back in return for the payment of certain rents and dues. Such churches and monasteries were legally feudal individuals, and were, of course, required to perform all feudal duties. The lands, indeed, belonged to the Church, and, theoretically, could not be alienated from the Church and ecclesiastical uses. As late as the eleventh century it was not at all uncommon for the clergy to marry. Since fiefs were hereditary, it seemed perfectly proper that their children should be provided for out of the Church lands which they held. But, unless all their children became clergymen, these Church lands would pass into the hands of laymen and therefore be lost to the Church. One of the purposes of the prohibition of the marriage of the clergy was to prevent this alienation and diminution of the Church lands.

Feudal terms.

The land, office, or any right or privilege granted and held as indicated above was called a fief, feud, or benefice. The lord, liege, or suzerain, was the one who granted a fief. The receiver of it was his vassal or liege-man. Subinfeudation was the regranting of a fief by a vassal to a third person, who, therefore, became a vassal to a vassal. In con-

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nection with the infeudation of a fief there were certain rights and ceremonies called homage; kneeling with uncovered head, folded hands, and sword ungirt before his prospective lord, the vassal made a set speech in which he vowed that he would become the lord's "man" and perform all the duties which this relation demanded. The lord then raised him, received his oath of fidelity, and by a symbolic act (usually the presentation of a sword, standard, sceptre, ring, staff, a bit of earth or a twig) invested him with the possession of the fief in question.

The one great duty of the lord to his vassal was to protect him. The lord must avenge his vassal's wrongs, defend him in all his privileges, and secure him justice in all matters. The vassal, on the other hand, owed his lord service, which might be of various kinds. Military service was, in some respects, the most important, and in accordance with the ideas of the times was regarded as noble. Service in labor, gifts, money, and produce, was regarded as menial or ignoble. Military service in the days of Karl the Great had been required of all freemen. The army was composed of the whole people under arms. As the use of cavalry was introduced and became general, and the practice of wearing armor universal, it became impossible for everyone to equip himself with the required paraphernalia. Continuous and far-distant campaigns made it necessary for many people to remain at home to till the soil. Karl the Great had the right to call his army together at any time, and demand their service in any part of the Empire, and for any length of time. By offering united resistance the vassals succeeded in acquiring two important limitations to this: they could be compelled to serve only forty days in the year, and only within a reasonable distance from their homes.

Noble or military service.

Feudal armies could not be levied directly by the king;

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Feudal armies.

he must first send the summons to his great vassals, with the order to appear with a certain number of men at a certain time and place. These, in turn, delivered the order to their vassals, and so the command was passed along until it had reached the end of the line of vassals. Under such conditions it is easily apparent that a feudal army was of little use, even when it was got together. Since wars must be fought, the rulers ceased to rely on their feudal levies, and engaged mercenary troops, which they kept as a standing army. Among the special duties laid upon a vassal were the following: If in battle the lord were unhorsed the vassal must give him his own; if the lord were in personal danger, the vassal must defend him with his life; if the lord were taken prisoner of war, the vassal was bound to go as a hostage for him.

Feudal dues.

There were various circumstances under which the lord might demand money from his vassals. When he knighted his eldest son, or gave his eldest daughter in marriage, or himself was taken prisoner, he might demand any sum which his vassal was able to pay. Such payments were called "aids," and tended to become fixed. A relief was a sum of money paid by an heir when he entered upon his inheritance at the death of his father. Ordinarily this was the entire income of the estate for a year. The same rule existed in regard to ecclesiastical offices. The newly appointed bishop or priest was compelled to pay the first-fruits (the annates), which meant the income of his office for a year. If a vassal died without heirs, his property reverted to the lord (escheat), and might then be relet to another vassal. If a vassal wished to surrender his fief to another, he had first to get the consent of his lord and pay a certain sum of money (fine upon alienation). If a vassal were guilty of treason, the lord might claim his possession by forfeiture. In England the king claimed, also, certain

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other rights, such as wardship and marriage; that is, if a vassal died leaving only children who were minors, the king became their guardian, and managed, and had the income from, their estates until they became of age. His consent to their marriage must be obtained, for which they were expected to pay well. One of the most oppressive rights of the lord was that of fodrum; that is, the maintenance of himself and retinue, or even his army; when passing through any district he might demand that its residents supply himself and his followers with food. In the same way, he might require the people along the way to furnish him a sufficient number of horses and wagons to transport him and his train from one place to another.

The rents due from the vassal were of various kinds. Generally a certain sum was due for the land, another for the house, sometimes another for the fire (chimney), and ordinarily a small tax for each head of stock (cattle, sheep, hogs, etc.). Of course the lord received a certain share of all that was produced on the soil, of the wheat, hay, wine, chickens, stock, honey, beeswax, and everything, in fact. A charge was also made for the privilege of pasturing the stock in the forests or fields of the lord, for obtaining firewood from his forests, and for fishing in the streams which were regarded as his property. The peasants were forbidden to sell their grain for a certain length of time after the harvest, or their wine after the vintage, in order that the lord might have a temporary monopoly in these articles. They were compelled to bake their bread in his oven, grind their corn at his mill, and press their grapes in his wine-press, for all of which a suitable toll in kind was charged. The lord could also seize the grain, wine, and other produce of his tenant, paying him what he chose, either in cash or at the end of a certain time. The tenant was required to labor also for his lord a certain number of days in the

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year. He must till his fields, care for his crops, make his wine, furnish horses and wagons on demand, haul his wood for the fires in the house, stones for building purposes, keep his castle and other buildings in repair, build defences, repair the roads and bridges, and render a multitude of other services.

Feudal justice.

The lord exercised over his tenants the power of a judge. All cases were tried before him or his officers. He had the right to impose and collect fines for all sorts of offences. For every crime and misdemeanor there was a fixed fine. The administration of justice on a great domain was, therefore, the source of a considerable income. The lord held court three times a year, at which all his vassals were expected to be present; but such attendance was soon felt to be burdensome and they secured permission to absent themselves on the payment of a fee.

These are only some of the rights of a feudal lord. It was to the lord's interest, of course, to multiply them and enforce them whenever possible. The vassals did all they could to limit them and to preserve their liberty and independence. It is apparent, however, that they were subject to innumerable burdens, and if their lord or his overseer was so disposed, their lives could be made unendurable.

Feudal society.

Feudal society may be divided into three classes, the peasants or tillers of the soil, the citizens or inhabitants of the towns, forming the industrial class, and the aristocracy, who lived from the labors of the other two classes.

Disposition of the soil.

The land was ordinarily divided into large estates, or domains, in the hands of what we may call great landlords, who, of course, did no work themselves. Very often they did not even oversee their estates but left that work to the care of a foreman or agent. This office of agent often became a fief, but sometimes it was farmed out for a certain sum. The holder of it received no salary, but was ex-

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pected to get his pay out of the administration of the office itself. This he did at the expense of the peasants. The central house, or manor of the estate, was regarded as the residence of the lord, although it often happened that he spent little time at it, especially if he possessed several domains. The manor was often the residence of the agent. About the manor was often a considerable amount of land which was held by the lord and cultivated for his benefit. Since all his tenants owed him a certain number of days' labor, he never had any difficulty in having this land well cultivated.

All the rest of the tillable land and meadow was divided into small lots and parcelled out among the tenants and became hereditary in the family of the one who tilled them. These tenants lived, generally, in little houses grouped together, forming a village. All the inhabitants of the country were known as peasants (rustici, villains), and may be divided into two classes, serfs and free. But within these two divisions there were many variations.

The slavery of the early Empire had been changed into serfdom. The slaves had become attached to the soil which they tilled. They were no longer sold. They were allowed to marry, and in accordance with the prevailing feudal customs received a bit of land. At first the lord could tax his serfs at will, but gradually limits were set to the demands which he might make. The serf paid an annual poll-tax, and if he married someone belonging to another domain he also paid a certain sum for the privilege of doing so. He could neither alienate nor dispose of his possessions by will. At his death all that he had went to the lord. The serf could neither be taken from his land, nor might he leave it; yet many of them ran away from their lords, and, passing themselves off for freemen, took service with other lords. If caught, however, they could be restored to their

Serfs.

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former lord; but if they could secure admission to the ranks of the clergy they thereby became free men. They might also become free in other ways. They might, if their master were willing, formally renounce him, surrender all their goods, and quit the domain. On the other hand, the lord might set a serf free on the payment of a certain sum. This became, indeed, a favorite way of raising money. The lord would set free all the serfs of his domain and demand the payment of the fee. Since they became his free tenants and must remain and till his land, he really lost nothing by setting them free, but rather gained. On the other hand, people might be reduced to serfdom by force. The conceptions of free and servile had become attached to the soil. Certain parts of a domain were called free, probably because they had always been occupied by free peasants, while other parts were called servile, probably because they had always been tilled by slaves who gradually became serfs. If a free peasant occupied this servile land he thereby lost his free character and became a serf. The free peasants were more nearly like renters who pay so much each year for the use of their lands either in money or in produce. Their lands were also hereditary. Being independent of their lord they could dispose of their possessions. There was nothing to prevent them from amassing a considerable amount of property.

Citizens.

In a later chapter will be found a description of the class of citizens. The cities themselves arose after the establishment of feudalism, but were forced into the feudal relations. They were, in fact, regarded as feudal personalities, and were treated much as a feudal individual. The city, as a whole, owed feudal duties. As the cities grew large and rich they resisted the feudal claims of their lords and were one of the powers that destroyed feudalism.

Sharply separated from the laboring classes were the

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nobility. This nobility was divided into two classes, the secular and the ecclesiastical. The only occupation of the secular nobility was the use of arms. Only he could enter this class who had sufficient money to equip himself as a warrior and to support himself without work; for work was regarded as ignoble. It is probable that for centuries the acquisition of sufficient wealth enabled anyone to pass into the ranks of the nobility. But in the thirteenth century nobility became hereditary. The line was sharply drawn between the noble and the ignoble families. Noble birth was added to the requisites of nobility, and eventually became the only requisite. Wealth alone was no longer the passport to noble rank. Intermarriage between nobles and commoners was forbidden, or at least regarded as a mesalliance. In Germany and France all the children born into a noble family inherited the title, while in England the title and wealth passed only to the eldest son. He only was required to marry within his class. The younger children might marry into ignoble families without thereby forming a mesalliance, a fact which accounts for the community of interest which has ever existed in England but not elsewhere between commoner and aristocracy. Nobility.

From the tenth century it became customary to fight on horseback. Whoever was able to equip himself with a horse and the necessary armor was regarded as a member of the aristocracy of arms. Only the common people still fought on foot. From this use of the horse came the terms "chivalry" and "chevalier." Both man and horse were protected by armor in such a way that they were almost invulnerable. The knight wore a helmet, coat of mail, and a shield for defence, and for attack carried a sword and lance. Improvements were constantly made in the armor, which gradually became so heavy that the knight was almost helpless except on his horse. For ordinary purposes Cavalry.

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he kept a light horse, but for battle, a strong animal was required because of the weight of the armor. Every knight was also attended by an esquire, whose duty it was to care for his horse and weapons and to serve as a body-servant.

Chivalry.

Among this great body of men of arms there grew up a set of customs and ideas to which the name of chivalry was given. It came to be regarded as a closed society into which, after certain conditions had been fulfilled, one could be admitted by initiatory ceremonies. Every young nobleman was required to learn the use of arms by serving an apprenticeship of from five to seven years. Generally he was attached to some knight, whom he attended everywhere, serving him in all sorts of ways. Such service, however, was not regarded as ignoble. At the close of his apprenticeship the young man bathed and put on his armor. His master then girded him with a sword and struck him with his hand on the shoulder, at the same time addressing him as knight. This is the earlier form of the ceremony. From the twelfth century on, the clergy added thereto many rites, all of a religious character. The candidate must also fast, spend a night in prayer, attend mass on the following morning, and lay his sword on the altar that it might be blessed by the priest, who then addressed him on his special duties as a knight.

Castles.

The warlike character of the times showed itself in the dwellings as well as in the sports of the nobility. They dwelt in forts rather than in houses. Their castles were built in the places most easily fortified and defended. Ditches, moats, and walls formed the outer defences, while the castle itself, with its high lookout tower, made a stronghold which alone could endure a heavy siege. The sports of the nobility consisted principally of hunting, hawking, and the holding of tournaments. The tournament was supposed to be a mimic battle, but it often resulted fatally.

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At one tournament alone it is said that sixty knights were killed.

The Church was profoundly influenced by feudal ideas and customs. The whole clergy, the Archbishops, bishops, and abbots, through their great temporal possessions, were drawn into the feudal relation. The Church taught not only that almsgiving was one of the cardinal virtues, but also that she herself was the fittest object on which it might be practised. Everywhere people gave liberally to the Church, hoping thereby to secure the greatest possible intercession with God from the clergy. Monasteries, churches, and colleges of canons became rich from such gifts; in the course of centuries the clergy became possessors of vast tracts of land and great privileges. Every bishop and Archbishop was therefore a landlord on whom the care of these great estates devolved. Because of their immense wealth, as well as the high honor attached to their calling, they also belonged to the aristocratic class and ranked with the secular nobility. Since they were the most learned they were also used by the kings and Emperors as counsellors and high officials. The great incomes of the monasteries and bishoprics made them especially attractive, and it early became the custom to put the younger sons of noble families into the best of such positions. These ecclesiastical lands, however, could not escape the feudal relation. The ruler of each country declared that all such lands owed him the customary feudal dues. Every bishop or abbot, on his accession to the office, became the king's vassal and must take the vow of homage and the oath of fealty to him and receive from him the investiture of the temporal possessions of his office. He must therefore perform, in addition to his ecclesiastical duties, also the civil duties which were required of other vassals. This dual character of the clergy was destined to become one of the principal causes of the

The high clergy.

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bitter struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. It was impossible for the clergy to be faithful to two masters, both of whom demanded the fullest obedience.

Causes of the decay of feudalism.

Feudalism reached its height from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries and then gradually declined. The invention of gunpowder revolutionized the methods of warfare. Against fire-arms, the knight's armor and castle were equally useless. The close of the Middle Age is marked by the rapid growth of the power of the kings, who succeeded in gathering the power into their own hands. The nobles were deprived of their authority. Out of the fragments of feudalism the king built up an absolute monarchy. The growth of the cities, also, did much to break down feudalism, for as they increased in power and wealth they wrested independence from their lords and threw off the feudal yoke. Various forces were at work to diminish the number of serfs and villains, such as the crusades, the great pests, and the constant wars. The feudal lords were left without a sufficient number of tenants to do their work. The demand for laborers created the supply, and we find at once a growing number of free laborers who work for wages without any feudal ties. Gradually feudal tenures were changed into allodial tenures. The fifteenth century saw the breaking up of feudalism, although in France and elsewhere certain fragments remained till the French Revolution, and the social organization of Europe is still largely feudal in its fundamental ideas.

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CHAPTER XI

THE GROWTH OF THE PAPACY

DURING the first two hundred years of the Church's existence its organization was very loose. Each bishop was practically independent of all other bishops. But there was a steady development throughout the Church toward a closer union of all its parts. The magnificent political and civil organization of the Empire furnished an excellent model, which was copied by the Church almost unconsciously. Corresponding to the political head of a province, there grew up an ecclesiastical official whose authority extended over the province and whose residence was the capital of the province; that is, there was gradually developed above the bishops of a province an Archbishop or metropolitan. The civil province thus became also an ecclesiastical province. The new office naturally fell to the bishop of the capital of the province. The Church followed the organization of the Empire so closely that the ecclesiastical rank of the bishop was at first determined by the political rank of the city in which he lived.

Archbishops.

As several political provinces were grouped together to form a larger division (eparchy), so also several ecclesiastical provinces, with Archbishops at their respective heads, were grouped together and formed a larger province, with an over-Archbishop at its head. For this officer and his diocese the word Patriarch and Patriarchate were used in the fourth century. The capitals of these Patriarchates were Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Cæsarea in Cappado-

Patriarch.

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cia, Heraclea (which was early replaced by Constantinople), Corinth, Alexandria, and Rome. In the sixth century only five of these were recognized—Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome.

Two lines of development.

In tracing the growth of the Papacy there are two things to be kept clearly separate; the one is the development of the Bishop of Rome as the head of the whole Church, and the other is the growth of his power as temporal sovereign. These will be traced separately till the year 755, after which they will be treated together.

In the fourth century the Bishop of Rome already had two offices: he was, first, the Bishop of Rome, and, second, he was also Archbishop or Patriarch over the territory about Rome. We must discover how he added to these two a third, the office of Bishop of the whole Church. Among the natural influences which helped bring this about may be mentioned the following:

Conditions favoring the growth of the spiritual authority of the Pope.

The Bishop of Rome was the only Patriarch in the west, and he therefore had no competition. Since Rome was the capital of the Empire, it seemed natural to think of the Church at Rome as in some sense the capital congregation, and its bishop the first bishop in the world. The analogy between him and the Emperor would inevitably be drawn. The Church at Rome gave liberally for the relief of the persecuted and of the poor of other congregations. The Bishop of Rome had charge of the disbursement of these funds, and received much of the reverence generally given to benefactors. The Bishops of Rome were, for the most part, on that side of the great theological questions which was accepted by the whole Church, and in consequence thereof the feeling arose that they alone of all bishops could be depended on to preserve the orthodox creed of the Church in all its integrity. The bishops and Patriarchs in the east quarrelled not only about the creed but also about

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political questions. In their disputes they appealed so often to the Bishop of Rome, that in the end he claimed the right to judge between them. At the Council of Sardica (343) it was proposed to make him judge in all cases where bishops who had been condemned by a council wished to appeal to a higher power. This was an important step in the development of his universal jurisdiction. A council at Nicæa (325) took certain action which implied the equality of all the Patriarchs (*i.e.*, the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Cæsarea, and Heraclea). The Council at Constantinople (381) decreed that the bishop of Constantinople, who had now replaced the bishop of Heraclea, should have the first place in honor and dignity after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople was regarded as the new Rome or capital of the Empire. This council merely fixed a matter of etiquette, saying only that the Bishop of Rome possessed a little more official dignity and honor than the others. The Council of Chalcedon (451) admitted that the Bishop of Rome was entitled to great honor because he was bishop in the ancient capital; but the bishop of New Rome was entitled to equal honor, because he was bishop of the city in which the Emperor resided and the Senate had its seat. Against this the Bishop of Rome, Leo the Great (440–61), protested. He admitted that Constantinople was the capital of the Empire, but declared that the political rank of a city did not determine the ecclesiastical rank of its bishop. It is the Apostolic origin of a church that entitles it to a higher ecclesiastical rank. The church of Rome, he declared, had been founded by Peter, the Prince of the Apostles. To his successors Peter had passed on all his rights, dignity, and supremacy, so that as he was first among the Apostles, the Bishops of Rome were first among all the bishops of the world. By virtue of being the successor of St. Peter,

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Leo claimed the right to exercise absolute power over the whole Church. Leo was the first to give a clear-cut expression to this Petrine theory, which from that day to this has been regarded as the basis for the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome.

Dionysius Exiguus.

Early in the sixth century Dionysius Exiguus, a monk of Rome, published two books, the one a collection of canons of the various church Councils, the other a collection of letters, opinions, and decisions of Popes on various matters. Dionysius treated the opinions of the Popes as if they had as much weight as the action of the councils; and as these two works were widely used in the west, they helped raise the authority of the Papacy.

The Popes carry on missionary work in the west.

While all the causes that have just been named contributed to elevate the Pope to a position of supremacy, it was his success in Christianizing the Barbarians in western Europe that assured him his position at the head of the Church. The Bishops of Rome labored for the conversion of the Arian Germans to the orthodox belief, and made a close alliance with the Franks when Chlodwig accepted the true faith. The Christianization of England through the efforts of Gregory the Great has already been described. These Anglo-Saxons, the Pope's youngest converts, were the most zealous promoters of his interests. Through them the orthodox faith, one of the tenets of which was the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, was carried to Ireland, Scotland, and to all the German tribes on the mainland who were either heathen or only nominally Christian, and owed no allegiance to the Bishop of Rome. An Anglo-Saxon princess, Queen Margaret of Scotland, toward the end of the eleventh century, subjected the Church of Scotland to the Papacy, and made it conform in all respects to the Roman Catholic Church. Only the Irish Church, the Church of St. Patrick, remained independent and yielded no obedi-

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ence to Rome, till Henry II. (1154–89) conquered a part of Ireland and brought its Church into subjection.

In a former chapter attention was called to the missionary labors of Irish monks in Scotland and England. They did not confine their efforts to those countries. Many missionary bands, numbering generally thirteen persons, were sent to the mainland, and labored among the Friesians and other German tribes, whose Christianity was only nominal. Their Church organization was very loose, and they were not attached to the Bishop of Rome. The Irish missionaries found ample field among them for all their activity.

Irish missionaries on the Continent.

It was a West Saxon, Winifred, or Boniface, as he was later called, who was to reorganize the Church among all the Germans, and subject it to the Bishop of Rome. He was born about 680; was brought up in a monastery; and ordained a priest when about thirty years old. In 718 he went to Rome and received from the Pope a commission to Christianize and Romanize all the Germans in central Europe. For nearly five years he travelled through Germany, from Bavaria to Friesia, in the prosecution of his work. In 723 he again went to Rome, and was made a missionary bishop without a diocese, at which time he took the same oath to the Pope which was required of the bishops in the diocese of Rome. Practically, therefore, the Pope must have regarded Germany as a part of his diocese, and as closely attached to him as were the districts about Rome.

Boniface, 680–755.

From Karl Martel, and after him from Pippin, Boniface obtained support in his work. He received supplies of both men and means from England, and was able to establish in Germany many monasteries. In 743 he was made Archbishop of Mainz. He called councils, at which the work of organization was perfected, heresies refuted, superstitious rites and customs forbidden, the lives of the clergy regulated,

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his opponents condemned, and the authority of the Bishop of Rome acknowledged.

In 753 he resigned his position as Archbishop of Mainz, and went again, with a large number of helpers, as a missionary to Friesia, where he met a martyr's death (754 or 755). But the principal part of his work was done. He had organized the Church throughout Germany and subjected it to Rome. It was from this Church of Germany, now truly dependent on Rome, that Christianity was to be carried to the remaining German tribes, such as the Saxons, Danes, and the people of Scandinavia, and to the Slavic peoples to the east of the Elbe. In this way the doctrine of the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, which had become a part of the Roman creed, was spread throughout all Europe, and was regarded as an essential part of Christianity.

The Roman Catholic Conquest of the west.

This movement may be called the Roman Catholic Conquest of the West; for it was a conquest, the outcome of a policy, the full results of which could not be foreseen by the Popes of that time.

An estimate of his work.

The work of Boniface has been variously judged. He has been exalted as the apostle of the Germans and condemned as the enslaver of the German Church. It was, indeed, unfortunate in its later results, that the Church of Germany was so completely in the hands of the Bishop of Rome, but at that time the choice was, in reality, between subjection to Rome and heathenism. Boniface chose the former, because it was by all odds the best thing to do. The Church among the Franks and Germans was in a wretched condition. Many of the Church lands were in the hands of laymen. There was little or no discipline, and no control exercised over the clergy. Each priest did what was right in his own eyes. There were, at this time, many vagabond priests and monks wandering about over the country, obtaining a precarious living by imposing

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upon the people. There was also much heathenism among the people. Such a state of affairs was little better than heathenism pure and simple, and such Christianity, such a Church, would certainly be unable to maintain the Franks in the leading position they were now holding. Boniface put an end to this disorder. He forbade all monks to leave their monastery without sufficient reason. The wandering clergymen were put under the control of the bishop of the diocese in which they might be found. Strict discipline was everywhere introduced into the monasteries. All monks were compelled to live according to the rule of St. Benedict. Laymen were forbidden to hold church property. In a word, the Church was reformed, and a much better type of Christianity was established among the Franks. This was the work of Boniface and deserves praise and admiration.

The growth of the temporal power of the Papacy is, in some respects, even more difficult to trace. We have to discover how the Pope acquired political power; first, the civil authority in Rome and its duchy, and then the temporal headship over the whole world.

From the time of Constantine the bishops were entrusted with an ever-increasing amount of civil power. They acted as judges; they were guardians of morals; they had the oversight of magistrates and a share in the government of the cities. To these the Bishop of Rome added still more important powers, and was easily the most important man in Rome. He bitterly resented the right, claimed and exercised by the Emperors at Constantinople, to dictate to him in ecclesiastical matters, and was finally so angered by their haughty treatment of him that he was ready to revolt. The image controversy gave him the desired opportunity. When the Emperor, Leo III., forbade the use of images, Pope Gregory II. replied that it was not the Emperor but the Bishop of Rome who had authority

Growth of the Pope's temporal power.

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over the beliefs and practices of the Church. Gregory III. (731–41) even put the Emperor under the ban.

In his struggle with the Lombards the Pope appealed first to Karl Martel and then to Pippin, visiting the latter in 753–54, and begging him to come and deliver him from their encroachments. Pippin made two campaigns into Italy and compelled the Lombards to cede to the Pope a strip of territory which lay to the south of them (755). This marks the beginning of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. He was freed from the eastern Emperor, and recognized as the political as well as the ecclesiastical ruler of Rome and its surrounding territory, under the over-lordship of Pippin, who had the title of Patricius.

Beginning of the papal state, 755.

We have seen that the Pope took the final step in his revolt from the eastern Emperor by crowning Karl the Great Emperor. He persuaded Ludwig the Pious to allow himself to be recrowned by him. In 823 he crowned Lothar Emperor, and later his son, Ludwig II. By such a long line of precedents the Pope so completety established his claim to confer the imperial crown that it was not seriously questioned for centuries.

Thus far, in discussing the growth of the Papacy, we have not taken into account the personal element. Such men as Leo I., Gregory II., Gregory III., and Nicholas I. (858–67) have, with great justice, been called makers of the Papacy, because of their activity in formulating and advancing the papal claims. Nicholas I., especially, was a man of great force, and made himself felt through all parts of Europe. Throughout his pontificate he acted on the theory that he was responsible for the conduct of affairs in the whole Empire. He did not wait for questions to be brought to him, but considered it his duty to take the initiative whenever he discovered anything wrong. Under Nicholas the Papacy possessed more influence and power

Makers of the Papacy.

Nicholas I., 858–67.

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than it had ever had before, and under none of his successors did it reach so high a plane until the appearance of Gregory VII.

The Papacy in the hands of factions.

For awhile in the tenth century, indeed, it seemed that the Papacy was to be destroyed by the local political factions of Rome. The political character of the office made it a thing to be coveted by all the great families of the city. The dignity of the office was dragged through the mire of the ward politics of Rome; it was controlled by infamous women and filled by licentious men. Its political character overshadowed its religious character, and the Popes forgot that they owed any duty to the outside world. Otto I., Otto III., and Henry III. rescued the Papacy from its perilous position and reminded the Popes that they were the head of the whole Church and not simply officials of Rome. During the eleventh century the Papacy, keeping well in mind its former world-wide claims, grew steadily in self-assertion. The Cluniac reform was spreading, and its ideas were gradually taken up by the Popes, and their policy shaped in accordance with them. In the Council of Pavia (1018) Benedict VIII. forbade the marriage of the clergy. Simony, the obtaining of office in any other way than by a canonical election, was also forbidden because the Popes saw that they could never control the clergy until they could control their election.

The Papacy, reformed by the Emperors, reasserts itself.

Leo IX., 1048–54.

Henry III. made and unmade Popes, and treated them as subjects who owed him obedience. Toward the end of his reign, however, Leo IX. (1048–54) exhibited a spirit of independence in his government which indicated the coming storm. He was appointed by Henry III., but refused to accept the office until he had been elected by the people and clergy of Rome. He travelled incessantly throughout Italy, France, and Germany, holding councils, settling disputes, and regulating affairs with a vigor and independence born

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of his authority as Pope. He went one step farther in the question of simony. Every bishop in the Empire was not only a clergyman, but also, by virture of his office, a kind of political official of the Emperor. That is, he was compelled to perform certain civil duties. He was, besides, a feudal subject of the Emperor, and as such owed him homage for the church lands which he held. The Emperor, of course, received certain taxes or income from all the lands in the Empire, whether owned by the Church or by laymen. No bishop could be inducted into his office until he had taken an oath of allegiance to the Emperor and been invested by him with the episcopal lands. The Pope had no part either in his election or his investiture or induction into office. Leo IX. was the first to see the disadvantages of this to the Papacy, and in the Synod of Rheims (1049) asserted the right of the Pope to invest the bishops with the insignia of office. He made no attempt, however, to enforce it.

The question of investiture broached.

Gradually the papal theory was working out into all its logical conclusions. The Popes were slowly perceiving how vast were the opportunities offered them. The vision of universal dominion floated dimly before them. The questions at issue between the Papacy and the Empire were being stated with more precision. The conflict was ready to break out. There were wanting only the opportunity and the man to make use of it. The opportunity came when Henry III. died, leaving a boy only six years old to succeed him, and the man was Hildebrand, a papal officer, but already at Henry's death the power behind the throne, and as fate would have it, the Pope was made the guardian and protector of the boy-king.

The conflict at hand.

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CHAPTER XII

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE (1056–1254)

THE accession of Henry IV., a mere boy, to the throne of Germany gave the Papacy the opportunity for which it had been waiting. Since the reform of Henry III. (1046) the Papacy had been rapidly gathering power. Hildebrand, the adviser of several successive Popes, had been able to direct all their efforts toward the same end. The pontificate of Nicholas II. (1059–61) was made famous by the alliance which he made with Robert Guiscard and by the publication of a decree fixing the manner of the election of the Pope. Up to this time there had been many and great irregularities in the papal elections. In theory the Pope was elected by the clergy and people of Rome; but the factions in the city had many times controlled the election and the Emperor had often named the Pope. Hildebrand clearly saw that the elections must be taken from the control of the people. In accordance with his ideas, Nicholas, in a council (1059), proclaimed a decree that the seven cardinal or titular bishops of Rome should in the future have the sole right to nominate the Pope, and their nominee must be accepted and elected by the clergy of Rome. The people were to have no part in the election, and the Emperor probably had the right to confirm, but not to reject, the Pope thus elected.

Nicholas II., 1059–61.

"Cardinal" was a title given to the clergy attached to the oldest and most important churches of Rome and its

"Cardinal."

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vicinity. The churches in Rome itself were all under the Bishop of Rome, and were ministered to by presbyters and deacons. There were cardinal presbyters and cardinal deacons, who were, of course, attached to the principal churches. There were seven cardinal bishops, who formed a kind of council to the Bishop of Rome, had charge of the affairs of the diocese when he was absent from the city, and assisted him in all great functions, such as the coronation of the Emperor; and to these seven the sole right of nominating the Pope was now confided. They were the bishops of Palæstrina, Porto, Ostia, Tusculum, Candida Silva, Albano, and Sabino. This was the beginning of the formation of the College of Cardinals. The decree was an important step in the process of freeing the Papacy from all temporal control.

In Germany this decree was rejected because it did not recognize the rights of the Emperor. A council of German bishops actually deposed Nicholas, and at his death elected an anti-Pope. The Empress Agnes became regent, but her inability to administer the government led to the kidnapping of the young king and the establishment of the Archbishop of Cologne as regent; the government then assumed a more conciliatory attitude toward the new Pope, Alexander II., and eventually recognized him.

Henry IV.

In 1065 Henry IV. was declared of age, and took up the reins of government. He had exceptional talents, and if he had received better training and possessed sufficient moral earnestness, might have had a far different history. But he hardly appreciated his position. He had no thought of a reform, and spent his time in the chase or with his mistresses, to enrich whom he robbed churches and sold offices. He was imperious and insolent, and the great dukes were soon alienated from him. Saxony was deeply offended by his conduct and ready to revolt. At last, in

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1069, a crisis was reached when he proposed to divorce his wife. The diet refused to consent to this, and formal complaints were made against him to Alexander II. The Pope excommunicated his council and summoned him to Rome. The death of the Pope, which occurred shortly afterward, put an end to the strife for a brief time.

Hildebrand, who during several pontificates had been the power behind the throne, was now made Pope, it would seem by a popular demonstration. Apparently the decree of Nicholas was disregarded in that the Cardinal bishops did not nominate the candidate. The people demanded Hildebrand for their Bishop and the clergy of Rome elected him. He assumed the title of Gregory VII. Hildebrand was not personally ambitious; his conduct as Pope was determined by his theory of that office. He was not a theologian; in defending one of his friends he almost incurred the charge of heresy. He was a practical man of affairs, as is indicated by the fact that he was first a deacon and then an archdeacon. He had served the Curia principally by looking after its financial interests and affairs. He was a diplomat and politician, obtaining by artifice or well-timed concessions what was otherwise unattainable. He made use even of heretics, if they could be of service to him. He could make compromises in everything except in the question of the supremacy of the Papacy.

Gregory VII., 1073–85.

Till this time the Empire had been regarded as the Kingdom of God on earth, and the Emperor as its head. Gregory declared this to be false. The Empire could not be the Kingdom of God because it was based on force, and the Emperors were often ambitious, tyrannical, and unjust. On the other hand, the Church is based on righteousness. She can do no wrong. Gregory's fundamental position is, therefore, that the Church is the Kingdom of God, and

Which is the kingdom of God, the Empire or the Church?

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the Pope who is at its head has absolute authority over all the world. His whole programme may be deduced from this.

But Gregory further declared that the Church must be reformed in accordance with the Word of God, must be really the Kingdom of God. His practical genius told him that the Church must be a compact unit, thoroughly organized and completely under the control of the Pope. The unity of the Church could be secured only by concentrating all the power in one man. The Church must obey one will. This would be possible only when one creed and one liturgy were everywhere accepted, and when all the clergy were bound directly to the head of the Church, the Bishop of Rome. He therefore required all bishops to take an oath of allegiance to him similar to that which vassals rendered to their lords. He gave all the clergy the free right of appeal to himself, and encouraged them to make use of it. This, of course, diminished the power of the bishops and raised his own accordingly. He replaced the authority of synods by assuming the right to decide all questions, either in person or through his legates. His legates played much the same part in his government that the missi dominici had under Karl the Great. They were to oversee for him all the affairs of the state to which they were sent, control the action of synods, and bind all the countries to the Pope. They were to be his hands and eyes. He definitely assumed control over the Councils by declaring that he could act without the advice of Councils, and that their acts were invalid until sanctioned by him. He was supported in this by several writers on church law, whose controlling principle was the absolute authority of the Pope, and who, developing church law in accordance with Gregory's ideas, attributed more authority to the decrees of the Pope than to the action of Councils.

Necessity of a central power in the Church.

Bishops take oath of allegiance to the Pope.

Appeals.

Papal legates.

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From the very first Gregory put his theory into practice. In 1073 he wrote to the Spanish princes that the kingdom of Spain had from ancient times been under the jurisdiction of St. Peter, and, although it had been occupied by Barbarians, it had never ceased to belong to the Bishop of Rome. In 1074, in a letter to Solomon, king of Hungary, he claimed that country on the ground that it had been given and actually transferred to St. Peter by king Stephen. He made the same claims to Russia and to Provence, to Bohemia, Sardinia, Corsica, and Saxony. He made the duke of Dalmatia his subject, and gave him the title of king. France, he said, owed him a fixed amount of tribute. He laid claim to Denmark, but its king resisted him successfully. He wished William the Conqueror to hold England as his fief, and William, though refusing to acknowledge the Pope as his feudal lord, yet consented to make the payment of the Peter's pence binding on England.

Gregory VII. and the temporal rulers.

In a council at Rome (1075) Gregory forbade the marriage of the clergy, as well as simony in all its forms. He threatened to excommunicate all bishops and abbots who should receive their offices from the hand of any layman, and every Emperor, king, or temporal ruler, who should perform the act of investiture. This was a hard blow at all rulers, but especially at the Emperor, because the German clergy were his principal support and were the holders of large tracts of land. If the Pope should be successful in carrying this point, the Empire would be almost destroyed.

The struggle with Germany.

The Pope further cited Henry (December, 1075) to appear at Rome and explain his conduct in keeping at his court certain men whom Gregory had excommunicated, and threatened him with the ban if he should refuse to come. Henry regarded this as a declaration of war, and answered it with defiance. At the council of Worms

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(January, 1076) he charged the Pope with having obtained the papal dignity by improper means, and declared him deposed.

Gregory's allies.

The war was begun. Gregory could count on the support of the Normans in southern Italy, the Pataria in Lombardy, Matilda, the great countess of Tuscany, and her allies, the Saxons, the discontented nobles of Germany, and that rapidly increasing class of people all over the Empire who were becoming imbued with the ideas of the Cluniac reform. Henry had for his support a large number of his faithful subjects who remained uninfluenced by the action of the Pope, a large part of the clergy who were patriotic but probably guilty of simony, the imperial party in Italy, and all those who for any reason were opposed to the papal control in Italy.

Henry's allies.

Charges and counter charges.

Henry's letter of deposition (January, 1076) to Gregory was bold and vigorous. He declared that he had endured the misdeeds of Gregory because he had wished to preserve the honor of the apostolic throne. This conduct the Pope had attributed to fear, and had, therefore, dared threaten to deprive Henry of the royal power, as if this had been received from him, and not from God. Henry had received his office through the Lord Jesus Christ, while Gregory had obtained the papal power without God's help. The steps by which he had mounted to the throne were cunning, bribery, popular favor, and violence. While seated on the throne of peace he had destroyed peace. He had attacked the king, God's Anointed, who, by the teaching of all the holy fathers, could be judged and deposed by God alone. The Church had never deposed even Julian the Apostate, preferring to leave him to God's judgment. The true Pope, Peter, had commanded all to fear God and honor the king, but Gregory has no fear of God. Let him, therefore, vacate the throne of St. Peter and depart. Henry, with his

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bishops, pronounces the anathema upon him. Let another occupy the papal throne who will not cloak his violence under the name of religion. Henry, with all his bishops, orders Gregory to vacate the throne at once.

The reply of Gregory (February, 1076) was equally imperious and vigorous. He calls on Peter, Paul, and all the saints to witness that he had unwillingly accepted the papal office thrust upon him by the Roman Church. This was sufficient proof that the Christian world had been committed to him. Relying upon the help of St. Peter and God, he therefore deposes Henry, because, in his unspeakable pride, he has revolted against the Church, and he absolves all his subjects from obedience to him. Because Henry persists in his claims and disobedience to the Pope, Gregory excommunicates him. He expects that St. Peter will make his anathema prevail, in order to make the world know that he, Peter, is the rock on which the Church is built, and that the gates of hell cannot prevail against it. This was, indeed, a new language in the mouth of Gregory. No Pope had ever made such claims or spoken in such a tone to the Emperor before. For the first time the claim is openly made that the Empire is a dependency of the Church.

Encouraged by the action of the Pope, the dissatisfied nobles of Germany held a meeting at Tribur (October, 1076), to which they did not admit the king. After some resistance, Henry was compelled to accept the terms, known as the Oppenheim agreement, which this meeting dictated to him. He agreed to remain in Speier and make his peace with the Pope before the end of February of the following year; to lay aside all the royal insignia, which was equivalent to resigning his kingship; and to present himself in February, 1077, in Augsburg and submit to trial before the council, which was to be presided over by the

Henry IV. deposed.

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Pope. Nothing could have been more acceptable to Gregory than to come to Germany and preside over a national council and try the king; but Henry had no intention of permitting this to take place. Gregory indeed set out for Germany, but while waiting for an escort through Lombardy, was alarmed at the news that Henry had escaped from Speier; had crossed the Alps in the dead of winter and was already in Lombardy, where he had been received with every mark of affection by the people. Being in doubt whether Henry's intentions were hostile or peaceable, Gregory withdrew to the castle of Canossa to await developments. Henry soon informed him through friends that he had come to make peace and to receive absolution. The Pope refused to receive him and demanded that he return to Germany and present himself at Augsburg according to the agreement which he had made with his barons. After much beseeching, however, the Pope yielded, admitted Henry to his presence and removed the ban from him.

Canossa.

Henry had been deeply humiliated, but he had accomplished his purpose; he had been freed from the ban of excommunication and had thereby deprived his rebellious subjects of all show of legality; and he had robbed Gregory of the best part of his victory by preventing his coming to Germany to preside over the national assembly. Gregory had, on the other hand, shown his power by keeping an Emperor standing as a penitent at his door. The Emperor never wholly recovered from this humiliation, but the Pope had in reality overshot the mark. The people thought him too severe and unforgiving. Although the world regarded the immediate victory as Gregory's, it was really Henry's, for from this time on Henry's power increased and Gregory's diminished.

Henry outwits Gregory.

It soon became apparent that Henry had been insincere

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in his confession and promises. He had plotted against Gregory even on the way to Canossa, and as soon as he reached Germany he began to plan for his self-defence. Still, however, his enemies, principally Saxons and Suabians, continued their opposition to him. The war dragged on for years, during which time the Pope deserted him and put him under the ban, and two anti-kings were set up against him. By the greatest good fortune, however, Henry was eventually victorious in Germany. He then set up an anti-pope and invaded Italy in order to depose Gregory. After three years of fighting he took Rome, had himself and his wife crowned, and besieged Gregory in the Castle San Angelo. Gregory, in the meanwhile, had summoned his faithful subject, Robert Guiscard, who now appeared with a large force, drove off Henry, and rescued the Pope. Rome was given over to pillage by his Norman troops, and the people were so angry at this that Gregory did not dare remain in the city longer. He withdrew with his Normans to the south, where he died, in 1085, in Salerno.

Gregory VII. driven from Rome. Dies, 1085.

Gregory had made great claims without being able fully to realize them. He had made concessions to William the Conqueror, and to Philip I., of France, who both still possessed the right of investiture. Henry IV. had, in many respects, held his own against him. His legates in Spain were abused, and he himself died in exile. But he had established the custom of sending papal legates to all parts of Europe; he had put his own authority above that of a Council; he had destroyed the independence of the bishops by giving to all the clergy the free right of appeal to the Pope; he had made the celibacy of the clergy the rule of the Church, and he had freed the Papacy from all lay interference, whether imperial or Roman, by establishing the College of Cardinals. He had formulated the claims of the

The work of Gregory VII.

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Papacy to absolute power and marked out its future policy. There can be no doubt that he had modelled the Papacy after the ancient Empire. The Pope, according to his ideas, was to succeed to the place of Augustus Cæsar. Even his times understood this, and poems were addressed to him as Cæsar. He was far more Roman than Christian. His stoicism was worthy to be placed by the side of that of the Scipios. His last words, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity," were the product, not of the Christian, but of the Roman, spirit.

Urban II.

Urban II. (1087–99) was able to carry the war to a successful conclusion. He added Bavaria to his allies, and persuaded Lombardy to desert Henry. Even Henry's son, Conrad, was false to his father and joined the papal party, for his perfidy being made king of Lombardy. In 1094 Urban II. celebrated his victory by making a triumphal journey through Italy and France. Everywhere he was received with the greatest honors. At Piacenza he held a great council, and a little later another at Clermont in France, where he proclaimed the first crusade.

The last years of Henry IV. were made bitter by the revolt of his second son, Henry, who made war on his father and compelled him to resign. But as soon as he came to the throne Henry V. (1106–25) broke with the papal party, took up his father's counsellors and policy, and renewed the struggle with the Pope. After several attempts to make an agreement, the question was temporarily settled by the Concordat of Worms (1122).

The Concordat of Worms, 1122.

Its terms are as follows: The Emperor concedes to the Pope the right to invest the clergy with spiritual authority, which was symbolized by the ring and the staff; bishops and abbots are to be canonically elected in the presence of the Emperor or of his representative, but contested elections shall be decided by the Emperor, who also has the right to

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invest the clergy with their lands and all their civil and judicial functions. This form of investiture was the same as that of the counts and other laymen. Its symbol was the sceptre. In Germany the oath of allegiance was to be taken before investiture; in other lands, within six months after investiture. This was a compromise in which the Pope got the best of it. The election was the important thing, and the Emperor lost control of it.

Henry V. renewed the policy of Otto the Great toward the Barbarians on the eastern frontier by encouraging the missionary efforts of the Bishop of Bamberg, through whose zeal the Slavs of Pomerania were converted and Germanized. The opposition which he met from his nobles led him to try to win the favor of the cities of the Empire, which were rapidly growing strong and rich, in order to set them over against the nobility. He seems to have recognized in a dim way the power and importance of the citizen class, and to have endeavored to make it his ally. At the death of Henry V. Lothar, duke of Saxony, was elected to succeed him. He owed his election to the fact that he made favorable terms with the papal party and agreed to act in accordance with the interests of the Church. He even wrote to the Pope, asking him to confirm his election. His election was contested by the Hohenstaufen, but after some years of civil strife they acknowledged him as king and made peace with him. He was able to carry on the wise policy of his predecessor toward the Slavs; he imitated Henry III. in proclaiming a peace of the land and threatening with punishment all who should break it.

Lothar the Saxon, 1125–38.

In 1130 a double papal election took place, which threatened to disrupt the Papacy. One of those elected, Innocent II. (1130–43), went to France, where he won the support of Bernhard of Clairvaux, then the most influential man in Europe. Through the influence of Bernhard, In-

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Lothar and Innocent II.

nocent obtained the favor of the kings of both France and Germany, Lothar, of Germany, even going to Italy, and by arms establishing Innocent in Rome. As a reward, Innocent crowned him Emperor and invested him with Tuscany. By accepting this fief, Lothar became the Pope's feudal subject. The Pope evidently wished to make his victory over the Emperor seem as great as possible, and, taking advantage of Lothar's yielding disposition, caused a picture to be painted representing the Emperor kneeling at his feet, and receiving the imperial crown at his hands. It was intended that this picture should express the idea that the Emperor was receiving the imperial crown as a fief from the Pope.

Roger II. of Sicily had sold his services to the anti-pope, Anaclete II., on condition that he be made king. After Innocent had made himself master of Rome, Roger continued his opposition, and Innocent called on Lothar to reduce him. Lothar's campaign ended disastrously, however, and the Pope was compelled to make peace with Roger and confirm his title of king. At the death of Lothar Conrad of Hohenstaufen was elected in a very irregular way as his successor (1138–52). He was, however, utterly unable to rule the country. Although the disorder in the kingdom was growing, Conrad permitted himself to be persuaded to go on a crusade. During his absence from the country, violence, private war, and political disintegration increased. He returned in 1149, and added to the chaos of the period by beginning a war with his most powerful vassal, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony. His reign ended in disaster.

Conrad III., 1138–52.

Frederick I., 1152–90.

Frederick I., known as Barbarossa, was then elected king (1152–90). Since he was descended from both the rival houses, Guelf and Ghibelline, it was hoped that he would put an end to the enmity and struggle between them. It

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was not the fault of Frederick that he did not. He sought to conciliate his opponents in every way. He restored Bavaria to Henry the Lion, favored him in other ways, and really left him no grounds for dissatisfaction except that he was not king. Frederick may be said to have had two policies, one as king of Germany and the other as Emperor of the world. He tried to make Germany a state by unifying the government, and repressing all violence and oppression. As Emperor, his one ideal was to restore the ancient Roman Empire. The great Roman Emperors were his models. In the eleventh century there had begun a revival in the study of Roman law, and Frederick at once pressed it into his service. He surrounded himself with men who were versed in the Codex of Justinian, and from these he received the imperial ideas which he tried to realize in his Empire. These lawyers were impressed with the spirit of absolutism in the Roman laws, and chose such maxims to lay before Frederick as would increase his feeling of sovereignty. They told him that the will of the prince was law, and that the Emperor was absolute sovereign of the world. The absolutism of Frederick was not the outcome of a lust for personal power, but the logical product of his conception of his office.

His two policies.

In 1154 Frederick crossed the Alps into Lombardy, and pitched his camp on the famous Roncaglian plain. A diet was announced, and the cities of Lombardy ordered to send their consuls to meet him. Most of the cities did so, but Milan and some of her allies refused to obey. There was a struggle going on between the smaller cities and Milan, who had been behaving very tyrannically. Pavia appealed to Frederick against Milan and Tortona; and when Tortona disregarded his commands, he besieged and destroyed it. Milan was not at this time humbled, since Frederick's attention was called to Rome.

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The people of Rome had not forgotten that their city had once been the mistress of the world. They were restless under all control, whether imperial or papal. They longed for the ancient power and independence of the city, and had dreams of restoring her to her former proud position. This was the cause of their frequent opposition to the Popes. The papal supremacy was incompatible with their political ideas and aspirations. In 1143 the common people and the inferior nobility revolted, drove out the Pope, and restored what was considered the ancient government of the city. Two years later Arnold of Brescia came to Rome, and was soon the most influential person in the city. He had been born at Brescia and had therefore come into contact with the ideas of the Pataria, especially in regard to the marriage of the clergy. He had been in France and had heard the theories of the great heretic Abelard, and, having adopted them, wished to put them into practice. He was made a priest and drawn to Rome soon after the revolution of 1143. His programme was somewhat extensive. His sympathies were with the common people as against the nobility. He was filled with the idea which had cropped out at various times in the Church, and was soon to become a central reforming principle of St. Francis, *i.e.*, the sinfulness of property. He declared that the land should not be held by the rich, but should be common property. Everyone had the right to the use of a certain amount of land. Since individual possession is sinful, the Church, of course, should be without property. But he went a step farther, and declared that the individual also should live in poverty. He attacked the clergy for their crimes and worldliness. It was to him a mark of the deepest corruption of the clergy that they had so great a share in the administration of civil affairs. "Clergymen with property, bishops with regalia,

Arnold of Brescia.

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and monks with possessions could not be saved." The Church needed a thorough reform, and he was wise enough to see that the beginning should be made with the Pope. Arnold demanded that the Church give up all her possessions and live in poverty, which, he said, was the law of Christ. Fired by his preaching the mob began to sack the monasteries. If it was wrong for the clergy to have property, they ought to be deprived of it at once!

In 1154 Nicholas Breakspeare, the only Englishman who has ever occupied the chair of St. Peter, was elected Pope and took the name of Hadrian IV. He boldly took up the struggle with the republican party in the city. He got possession of the Vatican quarter, and intrenched himself there. He put the city under the interdict, and removed it only when Arnold was exiled. By losing Arnold, the city lost its best leader.

Hadrian IV., 1154–59.

It was at this juncture that Frederick Barbarossa came into Italy. The Pope went to meet him, made charges against Arnold, and demanded his death. The republican party also sent an embassy to Frederick to tell him that the people of Rome were the source of the imperial power and were willing to make him Emperor if he would take an oath to respect the rights of the city and her officials, and pay them a large sum of money. Frederick was enraged at their insolence, and told them that Karl the Great and Otto I. had acquired the imperial title by conquest; Rome's power was a thing of the past; her glory and authority had passed to the Germans; it was not for a conquered people to dictate terms to their master. Hadrian IV., however, was willing to make better terms with Frederick. He agreed to crown him Emperor on condition that Frederick restore him to his place in Rome and deliver Arnold into his power. Frederick was thereupon crowned, the city was reduced to subjection, and Arnold

Frederick I. in Rome.

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taken prisoner, and, at the command of Hadrian, burned at the stake as a heretic.

The relations between Frederick and Hadrian had not been altogether satisfactory. At their first meeting Frederick had refused to hold the stirrup of the Pope because, as he said, it was not the custom for the king to do so. Hadrian was enraged at this, and would not give Frederick the kiss of peace. The quarrel was finally patched up, but only temporarily. The claims of Pope and Emperor were so conflicting that there could be no lasting peace between them.

The Besançon episode, 1157.

The Besançon episode showed the temper of the two parties and indicated the speedy outburst of the storm. The Archbishop Eskil of Lund had been in Rome, and while on his return homeward through Burgundy was seized, robbed, beaten, and imprisoned. Although Frederick was informed of this, he made no attempt to set him free or to punish those who had committed the outrage. One reason for this indifference was to be found in the fact that Frederick was very angry at Eskil because he was supporting the ambition of the Scandinavian Church to become independent—an ambition at the bottom of which was, of course, national feeling. Frederick also wished to show his displeasure with the treaty which had just been made between the Pope and William of Sicily, in which the Emperor's rights had been entirely disregarded. While Frederick was at Besançon (October 24–28, 1157) two legates appeared from the Pope bearing a letter in which the Emperor was roundly rebuked for his neglect. When they first presented themselves before Frederick they delivered the greetings of the Pope and the cardinals, adding that the Pope greeted him as a father, the cardinals, as brothers. This form of salutation was regarded as strange, but was not resented by Frederick. On the following day they were

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formally received by the Emperor, and laid before him Hadrian's letter. After rebuking Frederick for his indifference, the Pope confesses that he does not know the cause of it. Hadrian feels that he has not offended in any respect against Frederick; on the contrary, he has always treated him as a dear son. Frederick should recall how, two years before, his mother, the Holy Roman Church, had received him and had treated him with the greatest affection, and, by gladly conferring upon him the imperial crown, had given him the highest dignity and honor. "Nor are we sorry," he continued, "that we fulfilled your desires in all things; but even if your Excellence had received greater fiefs (beneficia) from our hands, if that were possible, in consideration of the great services which you may render to the Church and to us, we should still have good grounds for rejoicing." The reading of the letter produced the wildest sort of scene. Never before had the Empire been thus openly called a fief of the Papacy. The princes about Frederick angrily remonstrated with the legates for making such claims. To this one of them replied by asking, "From whom then did the Emperor receive the Empire, if not from the Pope?" The question almost cost him his life, for the hot-blooded Otto von Wittelsbach rushed upon him and would have slain him but for the interference of the Emperor. The legates were ordered to return at once to Italy, and were not permitted to proceed farther on the business of the Pope.

Whether Hadrian meant that beneficium should be understood as fief or not, is really of small consequence. The important thing was that he plainly treated the imperial crown as if it were something entirely within his power to give or withhold. This was little less offensive to Frederick than the word fief, because it was his belief that the imperial crown was attached to the German crown. The

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king of Germany had a right to the imperial crown, the Pope merely had the right to crown him.

The Emperor's manifesto.

Frederick then published a manifesto to his people, recounting the claims of the Pope as contained in the letter, and in opposition to these declared that he had received the imperial crown from God alone through the election by the princes. Jesus had taught that the world was to be ruled by two swords, the spiritual and the temporal. Peter had commanded that all men should fear God and honor the king, therefore, whoever said that the Empire was a fief of the Papacy was opposed to St. Peter and guilty of lying.

Hadrian's explanation.

Hadrian IV. then wrote an open letter to the clergy of Germany, expressing surprise and indignation at the turn affairs had taken. It was a most diplomatic letter, written for the purpose of winning the German clergy to his side. Some of them, however, were true to their Emperor, and wrote Hadrian a letter in which they embodied the answer of Frederick. It was of the same tenor as his manifesto, and claimed that the Empire was not a beneficium (fief) of the Pope, but that Frederick owed it to the favor (beneficium) of God. Frederick was also still angry about the picture which the Pope had had made representing Lothar on his knees receiving the crown from the Pope. The Pope, he said, was trying to make an authoritative principle, basing it simply upon a picture. Hadrian now saw that he had gone too far, and wrote a letter to Frederick in which he explained that "beneficium" was composed of "bono" and "facio," meaning not "fief," but a "kind deed" or "favor." By "*contulimus*" he had meant only "*imposuimus*." Hadrian succeeded in quieting Frederick, but the battle had been merely put off; it was not ended.

Frederick next turned his attention to the cities of Lombardy, which for a hundred years or more had been left to take care of themselves. They had improved the time by

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developing an independent municipal government. Milan was first reduced. It was agreed, however, that the city should continue to elect its officials, but that the Emperor should have the right to confirm them. Another diet was announced to be held in the Roncaglian Plain, and the cities were ordered to send their officials to it. It was Frederick's wish to break down the independent spirit of the cities. It was during his stay in Italy that Frederick had come into contact with the lawyers of Bologna, and learned from them the leading ideas of Roman Law. Ancient customs were revived, and Frederick renewed his claims to the regalia (that is, to the duchies, counties, marches, the office of consul, the right to coin money, collect taxes, customs, duties, etc.). He declared that in the future all the important officers of the city would be appointed by him and the people should approve them. Representatives of all the cities helped frame the rights of the Emperor and agreed to observe them. He proceeded to put his claims into force. He sent his representatives throughout the country to establish in every city his officials. In Milan this caused an uprising, and the gates were closed against the Emperor's messengers. Frederick laid siege to the city (April, 1159), which held out nearly three years. In February, 1162, it could resist no longer. The people tried in every way to appease Frederick, but he remained deaf to their entreaties. The walls of the city were razed, the inhabitants driven out, and many of the nobility kept as hostages.

The second Roncaglian Diet.

Milan destroyed, 1162.

In the meanwhile the quarrel had broken out afresh between the Pope and the Emperor. In 1159 Hadrian made sweeping demands of Frederick in regard to the possession of the lands of Matilda, the collection of feudal dues by Frederick from the papal estates, and the full sovereignty in Rome. The Emperor. of course, refused these demands,

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and the Pope prepared for the struggle. He sought help from Roger of Sicily, and the Greek Emperor, and intrigued with the cities of Lombardy. In 1159 Hadrian died, and the cardinals thereupon elected the man who had acted as the spokesman of Hadrian at Besançon, Roland Bandinelli, who assumed the name of Alexander III. He now took up the quarrel and spent his time endeavoring to find allies. Frederick, however, set up an anti-pope, and was so successful in his opposition to Alexander III. that the Pope was compelled to leave Rome and seek a refuge in France (1161). Frederick seemed to have won the day. His officials were in all the cities; Milan was destroyed and the Pope an exile. But his very success was the cause of his defeat; he had borne himself as an Emperor of the old school. His absolutism was tyranny to the cities, and hence they were eager to find some way of avenging themselves. The head of the opposition was Alexander III. In 1165 he returned to Rome, excommunicated the Emperor, and released his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. Alexander was a diplomat and a demagogue; he was hostile to the independence of the Lombard cities, but because they could help him he sought their alliance. For nearly fifteen years this able man led the opposition to Frederick, and the victory over the Emperor was due in a large measure to his ability and efforts. The next year (1166) Frederick went again into Italy with a large force to punish the rebels and to put the new anti-pope, Paschalis, in the chair of St. Peter. After a siege he took Rome. Paschalis was established as Pope and a few days later recrowned Frederick and his wife in St. Peter's. A pest broke out shortly afterward and Frederick, alarmed at the great mortality among his troops, hastened back to Germany. As fast as he retreated the cities behind him revolted, and he barely escaped with his life. The

Alexander III.

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cities now entered into the famous Lombard League (1167). Milan was rebuilt by the aid of them all, and assumed the leading position in the league. Pavia still remained true to the Emperor, but to keep it in check the league founded a new city on the border of its territory and named it Alexandria in honor of the Pope. It was not till 1174 that Frederick was in a position to reënter Italy. Then the Emperor himself laid siege to Alexandria while some of his troops overran Tuscany and Umbria. Alexandria was very strong and the siege lasted for months. Overtures of peace were made, and, as winter was approaching, Frederick withdrew to Pavia. Again and again he called on the German princes to come to his assistance, but Henry the Lion thought it an excellent opportunity to humble the Emperor and refused to assist him. In May, 1176, the troops of the league attacked Frederick at Legnano, and won a decisive victory. It was even thought for awhile that the Emperor had lost his life in the battle. Frederick realized the situation; he had been beaten, and was therefore ready to make peace on the cities' terms. He met Alexander III. in Venice (1177) and made a truce for six years. He confessed his wrong deeds and begged the Pope to remove the ban from him. Six years later, at Constance, the treaty of peace was signed which granted the cities substantially all that they had demanded. The overlordship of the Emperor was recognized, but it was merely nominal, and the independence of the cities was practically admitted. It was a bitter humiliation for Frederick, but he could not escape it. Being pressed in Germany by the Guelf family he needed the support of the Pope and there was nothing for him to do except to abide by the decision reached by the war.

The Lombard League, 1167.

Legnano, 1176.

The Treaty of Constance, 1183.

A crisis was reached in the struggle between the Ghibelline and the Guelf families in 1176, when Henry the Lion

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refused to help Frederick in his war against the Lombard League. After returning to Germany, Frederick proceeded to punish him. He cited Henry to appear before him, and on Henry's refusal, deposed and banished him. Henry resisted, but was defeated in battle and begged for mercy. Frederick permitted him to retain his private estates.

Although Frederick had not been able to conquer Sicily, he provided for its annexation by marrying his son, Henry VI., to Constance, heiress to the crown of that country. The Pope foresaw that this marriage would greatly strengthen the Empire, and so he renewed hostilities, in which he was aided by the Archbishop of Cologne and other German princes. In the meantime the news reached the west that Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the Saracens, and, according to the ideas of the times, its recovery was regarded as the most pressing business of the hour. Clement III. was willing to make almost any concessions if he could enlist Frederick for a crusade. An agreement was made in which Frederick seemed to have won the victory. He was now ready to go on the crusade. He placed the management of affairs in Germany in the hands of Henry VI., who took the title of king of the Germans, and set out in the spring of 1189. Henry the Lion refused to accompany him and was banished for three years. An account of this crusade will be given in another place. Frederick died by drowning in one of the mountain streams of Cilicia, June 10, 1190.

The Crusade of Frederick I.

In Italy the spoils divided.

In Italy Alexander III. found that, although he had overcome Frederick, he had not won the whole victory for himself. He was unable to unite all Italy under his own authority. The cities of Lombardy and the kingdom of Sicily secured their own advantages and went on their way of independence. During the struggle with Frederick there had been several anti-popes established by the Emperor.

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The schism was ended in 1178 by the surrender of Calixtus III., who found it impossible to sustain himself after the Emperor had made peace with Alexander. To guard against disputed elections in the future, it was decreed in the Lateran Synod of 1179, that whoever should receive the votes of two-thirds of the Cardinals should be regarded as the duly elected Pope. There was nothing said about the Emperor's right to confirm the election, nor was any part accorded the people and clergy of Rome. The whole matter is in the hands of the Cardinals from this time on.

The high position of Alexander III.

Alexander III. deserves great credit from the papal point of view for the work of his pontificate. His power was recognized all over the west as that of no Pope before him had been. His immediate successors were unable to maintain all the advantages he had won. Before the end of the century Innocent III., the most imperial of all the Popes, was to appear, and realize all that previous Popes had dreamed of; but before him there was to be another struggle in Rome. The independent spirit of the people of the city reasserted itself, and Lucius III. (1181–85) and Urban III. (1185–87) spent most of their pontificates in exile. Clement III. (1187–91) succeeded in regaining the mastery in Rome, and all power was made over to him. The Pope had seldom been so secure in the city before. But a new danger was threatening. The marriage of Henry VI. with Constance of Sicily might, at any moment, lead to the establishment of the imperial power in the south, and the addition of Sicily and all the southern part of Italy to the Empire. The Pope would then be between two fires.

Henry VI., 1190-97.

The first days of the reign of Henry VI. were filled with anxiety. Henry the Lion broke his royal word and attacked Henry VI. as soon as Frederick had set out for the east. The news of the death of William, king of Sicily, soon reached Germany, and a few days later the sad news of

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the death of Frederick was received. Henry VI. made peace with Henry the Lion, made provision for the government in Germany during his absence, and hastened into Italy. He was crowned at Rome and went on to Sicily to secure the possession of that kingdom; but the people of Sicily had elected Tancred king, and Henry was unable to accomplish anything there. The outlook was indeed dark, for there were powerful enemies allied against him. The combination of Richard the Lion Heart of England, the Guelf family in Germany with Henry the Lion at its head, and Tancred in Sicily would probably be able to break the power of the Hohenstaufen. But fortunately for Henry VI., Richard was taken prisoner on his way home from his crusade and delivered into his hands. The son of Henry the Lion fell in love with a cousin of the Emperor, and in order to obtain her hand, made peace with him. Henry the Lion, now an old man, gave up the struggle and retired to his estates, and Henry VI. was able in a second campaign to get complete possession of Sicily.

In his ambitious schemes Henry VI. had no regard for the Pope. He seized the lands of Matilda (Tuscany), for which the Pope put him under the ban; but not in the least frightened by this, Henry continued his efforts to get possession of all Italy. He is said at this time to have planned the complete destruction of the papal state by adding it to his own territory. He also turned now to try his fortune in the east. He planned a crusade, the real object of which was first of all the conquest of Constantinople. The Greek Empire was, indeed, in a chaotic condition, and he hoped to win its crown and establish himself in Constantinople, from which vantage-point he might easily carry on the war against the Saracens. He went first to Sicily in order to put down a revolt and punish those who were hostile to him, intending then to proceed against Constan-

Bold plans of Henry VI.

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tinople, but died there after a very brief illness (1197), leaving a son, Frederick II., only three years old. His great plans and hopes were destroyed, and the Empire was thrown back into the anarchy caused by a contested imperial election. At the same time Innocent III. became Pope, a man of strong will and great ability, full of theocratic ideas and the desire to realize them.

Innocent III., 1198–1216, and his programme.

Innocent III. (1198–1216) represents the last and highest stage in the development of the Papacy. He was a jurist, trained in the schools of Paris and Bologna. He looked at everything from the jurist's point of view, and endeavored to reduce to a legal form and basis all the claims of the Papacy. He was not personally ambitious, but fully persuaded that he was acting in accordance with the best interests of the Church, and even with the plans of God in everything that he did. He believed that the government of the world was a theocracy, and that he himself was the vicar of God on earth. He pushed to the extreme the ideas of the supremacy of the Papacy over all rulers, and actually realized them in many respects. His programme may be summed up under the following heads: 1. The Pope must be absolute master in Italy, which must therefore be freed from the control of all foreigners; hence the Empire must not be allowed to unite any part of the peninsula to itself; the papal state must be strengthened; the political factions in the city must be kept out of power. 2. All the states of the west must be put under the control of the Papacy; neither king nor Emperor may be independent of the Pope, but must submit to him in all things. 3. The Church in the east, and the Holy Land must be recovered from the Moslems, and the Greek Church purified of its heresy and reunited to the Church of the west; all heretics must be destroyed; the law and worship of the Church must be made to conform to papal ideas.

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Innocent and his ward.

In Sicily the young king, Frederick II., was among enemies, and when his mother died, Innocent was made his guardian. He performed his duties toward the boy with great conscientiousness, supplying him with the ablest teachers, giving him the best education possible, caring for his interests in Sicily, and protecting him against his rebellious subjects.

Philip of Suabia, 1197–1208, and Otto IV., 1197–1215.

In Germany there was a contested election, which Innocent was asked to settle. Philip of Suabia, after trying in vain to secure the election of his nephew, Frederick II., was himself made king by a large number of princes. The Guelf family, however, elected one of their number, Otto IV. Innocent III. decided in favor of Otto, because, as he said, Otto was the proper person for the office and devoted to the Church, while Philip was a persecutor of the Church. Philip had declared that he would defend his claim to all the possessions of the Empire, while Otto IV. had taken an oath that he would not interfere with the papal claims, but would defend all the possessions of the Papacy. Civil war ensued. After defeating Otto and making himself master of Germany, Philip was murdered (1208), and Otto, being now without a rival, was recognized throughout Germany.

Otto IV., however, now that he had secured the crown, changed his policy toward the Pope, broke his oath, and demanded Sicily and Tuscany on the ground that they were parts of the Empire. He was successful in arms in southern Italy, but before the conquest was completed the Pope had raised a revolt among the German princes and

Frederick II., 1215–50.

put forth Frederick II. as a candidate for the German crown. At the invitation of some of the German nobles, Frederick, although a boy, went to Germany, made an alliance with Philip, king of France, and in three years made himself undisputed master of Germany.

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Innocent III. followed out his policy with great vigor. Frederick held Sicily as a fief of the Papacy. In central Italy Innocent made a league with the cities, drove out the Emperor's officials, and established his own in their place. The king of Portugal acknowledged his authority and paid him tribute; the king of Aragon became his feudal subject, and the king of Leon was compelled to yield obedience to him. In Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Servia, and in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, Innocent was able to make good his claims, at least in part. In France Innocent interfered in the family affairs of the king, compelling him to take back his wife, whom he had divorced on insufficient grounds. In political matters, however, Philip II. resisted the demands of the Pope with more or less success. In England Innocent compelled John to accept Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury, and then aided the king in his struggle against the barons. Policy of Innocent III.

It seemed for awhile that the Papacy would get possession of all the Christian east. Innocent III. forbade the fourth crusade to proceed against Constantinople, but when the city was taken and the Latin Church established there he accepted its work. From Constantinople, as a vantage-ground, he hoped to extend the papal authority over all the east, but the rapid disintegration of the Latin Empire was destined to blast his hopes. The east.

During his pontificate many heresies appeared in the west, the most widely spread of which was that of the Albigenses. Innocent and his successor were responsible for the crusade which was preached against them, and carried out by Simon de Montfort. In 1215, at the Lateran Council, the inquisition was established, and it was declared that heresy was a crime which should be punished with death. At the same council the doctrines of transubstantiation and auricular confession were promulgated. The The Lateran Council, 1215.

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twenty-first canon of that council declared that every Christian must confess his sins to the priest at least once a year, and might receive the sacrament of the eucharist after doing so. If he did not confess, the church was to be closed to him, and if he should die, he should not receive Christian burial. "From that time forth the confessional began to be considered as the only means of obtaining forgiveness for mortal sin, which the priest, as representative of God, actually granted, and he alone could grant." The doctrine of transubstantiation, which up to that time had not been the universal belief of the Church, was adopted, and it was decreed that no one except a properly ordained priest could administer the sacrament. Innocent had announced that the council would deal with two questions, the recovery of the Holy Land and the reform of the Church. Many of the canons were really reformatory in their character, and the work of the council dealing with all sorts of questions shows the deep insight and sincerity of Innocent. A great crusade was announced for the year 1217, and immense preparations made for it, but Innocent did not live to see it. He died at Perugia while busily engaged in preparing for the crusade.

The character of the Papacy changed.

On the surface his pontificate seems to have been a success. He had apparently won a victory in every case over the temporal powers. But he had alienated the affections of the people. The cruelty of the crusade against the Albigenses turned the whole of southern France against him. His victory over John of England, and the support he gave him in his unjust struggle against his people, filled the English with hatred of him. In Germany the same results were reached. The troubadours charged their songs with fearful arraignments, and Walther von der Vogelweide lashed the Papacy for its worldliness, its greed of money, and its ambitions. Innocent gave the fullest expression to

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the political claims of the Papacy, and did much to realize them. Under his guidance some of the most important doctrines, rites, and practices of the Church were established. The formation of the code of canon law, while not begun by him, was thoroughly in accordance with his ideas, and it gave a legal form and basis to what he had claimed. It would not be too much to say that he was the last great maker of the Papacy. His programme was carried through with the appearance of remarkable success, but his best weapon, the interdict, was almost worn out by its too frequent use. The forces were at work which were soon to undo all that he had done. The Papacy lost in spiritual power under him because he made politics the principal matter. Earnest Christian pilgrims and visitors at Rome were shocked to hear nothing about spiritual matters, but to find the mouths of all the clergy incessantly filled with talk about temporal affairs. Innocent III. put the Church squarely on the road which led to its religious bankruptcy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The greatest of the Popes was followed by the greatest of the Emperors. In 1212 Frederick had set bravely out to take Germany from Otto IV. He renewed the alliance with Philip of France, and the German princes of the Rhine valley received him with favor. Otto IV. called on his allies for help. John of England sent an army to the continent to unite with the count of Flanders, the duke of Brabant, and other nobles in the north of France against the French king. The decisive battle was fought near Bouvines, in July, 1214, and resulted in the complete victory of Philip II. Since his allies were thus disposed of, Otto IV. was compelled to yield to Frederick. He withdrew to his lands, and died at Harzburg (1218). Bouvines, 1214.

Frederick was crowned at Aachen in 1215, proclaimed a universal peace in Germany, and took a vow to go on the

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Frederick II. and the Papacy.

crusade which Innocent III. was planning. His next step was to secure the imperial crown. But Innocent was afraid of his growing power, although Frederick had been most respectful to him in all things. He feared that if Frederick should hold both Germany and Sicily, the two would be joined together and Frederick would try to control all Italy. He therefore persuaded Frederick to promise that as soon as he should receive the imperial crown he would resign the crown of Sicily to his young son, Henry, who should hold it as a fief from the Pope. Death prevented Innocent from crowning Frederick, but Innocent's successor, Honorius III., performed the act. Frederick, however, in spite of his promises retained the title of king of Sicily, a breach of faith Honorius III. paid no attention to, because he was desirous that the crusade should be made, and he wished Frederick to join it. Frederick, however, always found excuses, and put off his departure. He married Iolanthe, the daughter of the king of Jerusalem, and without any regard for the rights of her father assumed that title himself. Gregory IX. (1227–41) demanded his immediate departure for Palestine. Frederick finally sailed (1227) from Brindisi, but returned three days later, and excused himself on the ground that he was ill. Gregory would not listen to the excuse and put him under the ban. Frederick then made fresh preparations for the crusade, but the Pope forbade his going until he had obtained the removal of the ban. Frederick, however, sailed again from Brindisi, June, 1228. He saw that by force it would be impossible to conquer the east, yet by diplomacy he gained possession of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other places for the Christians. He crowned himself in Jerusalem and returned home, having been three times excommunicated for his disobedience to the Pope.

Three times excommunicated.

During his absence the Pope had tried to stir up the Ger-

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mans against him, and raising an army at his own expense had attacked his territories in the south, achieving some success. But when Frederick returned (1229), taken by surprise, the Pope was unable to continue the war and offered to make peace. The two came together at San Germano (1230), and by mutual concessions peace was restored.

San Germano, 1230.

Frederick then turned his attention to Sicily. In 1231 he published the famous "constitutions of the kingdom of Sicily," by which feudalism was destroyed there, and a real kingship established in its stead. Royal judges and courts took the place of the barons and their courts; feudal dues were replaced by direct taxes, and other changes were made which resulted in the formation of a really modern state in all that concerns the machinery of government.

A new government in Sicily.

During his long absence from Germany great disorder had arisen. He had caused his son Henry to be made king in Aachen (1222), and much power had been granted him. In 1233 Henry revolted against his father, but was seized and carried to Italy, where he died as a prisoner (1242). In a great diet at Mainz (1235) Frederick forbade private warfare, proclaimed the peace of the land, and ended all the quarrels between him and the Guelf family by making its last representative a duke and investing him with a large duchy, created especially for him. He was at the height of his power at this time. Germany and Sicily were wholly in his hands, but the cities of Lombardy were not willing to give him the obedience he desired. In 1236–37 he carried on war against them and succeeded in reducing the leader, Milan, after the great battle of Cortenuova (1237).

In 1238 Frederick laid claim to Sardinia as a part of the Empire. This brought on a struggle between him and the Pope, because Sardinia had been declared to be a fief of the Church. Frederick persisted in his course, and the Pope,

The struggle with the Papacy renewed.

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from this time on, was implacable in his hatred toward Frederick. The final struggle had begun. Gregory IX. and his successors tried to turn the German princes and people against him, and freed them from their oath of allegiance. The cities of Italy were arrayed against him, and help was sought from France. At the same time Frederick was charged with all kinds of heresy. He was reported to have said that there had been three great impostors who had deceived the world—Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed; he had reviled the clergy and the creed of the Church; he had said that nothing is to be believed which is not acceptable to the reason. Heresy was proved by the fact that he associated with both Jews and Mohammedans, and allowed the free exercise of all religions in his kingdom. The Emperor defended himself with great vigor. He had recourse to the Apocalypse of St. John for his figures of speech, and called the Pope the anti-Christ, the angel that came up from the bottomless pit, and the rider on the red horse with power to destroy peace in the world. Gregory called a council, but Frederick captured the clergy who were on their way to attend it, and thus prevented its meeting. He overran Italy, and got possession of the territory even to the gates of Rome. After the death of Gregory IX. the Cardinals were unable to elect a Pope, and for nearly two years the chair of St. Peter was vacant. Frederick tried in every way to compel them to elect his candidate, but they resisted him successfully. At last, in 1243, one of Frederick's friends was elected and took the title Innocent IV. (1243–54). Frederick, however, felt that the war must go on, because, as he said, no Pope could be a Ghibelline. Innocent escaped to France and called a council at Lyon, at which the Emperor was again deposed and put under the ban. All were forbidden to regard him as their king, or Emperor, and the princes of Germany were ordered to pro-

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ceed to the election of another king, Innocent saying that he himself would take care of Sicily. To this Frederick replied, asserting that he was a good Christian, and that he had been laboring all his life only to bring the clergy to live in the proper way and lead an apostolic life in poverty and humility.

Innocent IV. appealed to France, to the cities of Italy, and to the Germans, and by the greatest exertions kept the war going. He turned it into a crusade, and offered to all who would join in it the same indulgences and spiritual rewards as against the Saracens. In 1246 he succeeded in having count Henry Raspe of Thuringia elected king in place of Frederick. Civil war spread all over Germany. The Begging Friars supported the Pope by stirring up the people against Frederick, and by collecting large sums of money from all quarters to be used in carrying on the opposition. The Pope spent a great deal to persuade the electors to make William of Holland king, and in 1247 he was actually elected. Frederick's son, Conrad IV., who, as king of the Germans, had charge of affairs in Germany, was unable to resist the progress of William, who was crowned at Aachen in 1248. Misfortunes thickened around the aging Emperor. Among the courtiers of Frederick a conspiracy was formed, and an attempt was made to poison him. His son Enzio was taken prisoner and confined in Bologna. One by one his friends and supporters fell in battle. He himself was very ill, but he kept up his courage. His troops were victorious in Italy, and Rome was about to fall into his hands. The struggle was far from being decided when the Emperor died (December 13, 1250).

A Crusade against the Emperor.

Death of Frederick II., 1250.

Frederick II. was of the Middle Age, and belonged at the same time to the Modern Period—a man full of contrasts, not to say contradictions. He was most modern in that he was not controlled by religious, but wholly by po-

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His character.

litical, motives. He was not bound by feudal ideas, but actually created an absolute monarchy in Sicily. His kingdom there is regarded as the first modern state in Europe. He persecuted heretics in Germany, but was himself very free in thought, tolerating all religions in his kingdom of Sicily. He was not a German in character, but exhibited the fusion of the German, Italian, Greek, and Saracen elements in southern Italy. He spoke Latin, Italian, French, German, Greek, and Arabic. He surpassed all the Emperors who had preceded him in culture and learning, was himself a poet, and kept himself surrounded by poets and scholars. He established the University of Naples (1224). He had zoölogical gardens, not for the gratification of his curiosity alone, but also for scientific purposes. He belonged to the class of independent thinkers, of which Abelard was also a member. He preferred to live in Sicily, because it possessed far more culture than Germany. He understood the question at issue between himself and the Pope; he knew that it was for the right to rule the Empire independently that he was fighting. In the art of diplomacy he was well trained, and by it he won many victories. He died before the struggle was ended, but he seems to have felt that it would be decided against him and his family. His last years were made heavy by many misfortunes, but he died with unbroken spirit.

Conrad IV., 1250–54, and William of Holland.

With the death of Frederick II. the power of the Hohenstaufen family was broken, but the fight was not given up. The Pope caused William of Holland to be elected king. Conrad IV., son of Frederick II., was unable to maintain himself in Germany and so withdrew to Sicily, which his half-brother, Manfred, had succeeded in holding for him. Conrad IV. offered to make terms with the Pope, but all his advances were rejected. Innocent IV. was implacable. He had sworn that the hated race of the Staufen should be

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literally destroyed. Conrad and Manfred were, however, successful in arms, and in spite of all opposition had got control of southern Italy and Sicily, when Conrad IV. died suddenly (1254), leaving his little son, whom the Italians call Conradino, to the care of his faithful Manfred. After continuing the struggle for four years, Manfred was compelled to accept the crown himself (1258), but he stipulated that Conradino should succeed him.

The Pope now turned to France for help. He offered the crown of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, the brother of king Louis IX. This Charles was bold, ambitious, utterly unscrupulous and cruel. In 1263 the kingdom of Sicily was made over to him, and he began his preparations to take possession of it. Manfred tried to besiege Rome and to keep Charles from landing in Italy. He was unsuccessful, however, and Charles entered Rome and was crowned king, January 6, 1266. About a month later the decisive battle was fought near Benevento, and when Manfred saw that he was betrayed by many of his troops, who, no doubt, had been bribed by the Pope to desert to Charles during the battle, he rushed into the thick of the fight and was slain.

Charles of Anjou.

Death of Manfred, 1266.

Conradino, who had spent all his life in Germany, was a genuine Hohenstaufen. Although a mere lad, he gallantly responded to the call of the Ghibellines of Italy, and with a small army went to meet Charles of Anjou. After a hard-fought battle, Charles was victorious. Conradino was taken prisoner and beheaded as a rebel in the public square of Naples.

The long battle was over, and the victory was the Pope's. Not only was the power of the Hohenstaufen broken, the family itself had been destroyed. There remained only one member of it, Enzio, the son of Frederick II., and he was a prisoner in Bologna, where he died, in 1272. The

The victory of the Pope.

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great Staufen family was no more. With it had disappeared the Empire of Karl the Great. Not that it was destroyed, but it now underwent a radical change. The government of the world was no longer the peculiar prerogative of the Emperor, but of the Pope. The Pope had vindicated his right to the temporal as well as to the spiritual supremacy, and it was now possible for him to declare with truth that he was both Pope and Emperor.

When Conrad IV. left Germany in 1251, William of Holland remained in full possession. The Pope did all he could to insure William's recognition throughout Germany, but for some time in vain. The cities in the Rhine valley renewed the old league (1254), and within a year there were more than sixty cities bound together for mutual protection. Eventually they recognized William, as did nearly all of northern Germany. But becoming engaged in a quarrel with the Friesians, he was killed by some Friesian peasants (January, 1256). Although both Richard of Cornwall and Alphonso of Castile, were afterward elected king, neither of them was able to establish himself as master of the country. Alphonso, indeed, never came to Germany. Richard visited the country, but never exercised any authority there. The period from 1254 to 1273 is known as the great interregnum.

The great interregnum.

During this struggle of the Staufer with the Papacy, two things are to be noticed: the largely increased number of principalities and the extension of the frontier on the east. Through the policy of the Hohenstaufen to diminish the power of the dukes by breaking their original provinces up into many smaller political divisions and giving these as fiefs to others, there had now come to be, instead of the five great stem-duchies, a large number of duchies, counties, marches, bishoprics, and other principalities, all striving for independence. The influence of subinfeudation may

Feudal principalities of Germany.

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also be seen in this dissolution of the great political centres.

The eastern frontier.

A most important change had taken place in the eastern boundary. Slowly the Slavs, Letts, and Magyars, who covered the whole eastern frontier, had been conquered and were being Christianized and Germanized. The eastern boundary had been carried even beyond the Vistula on the Baltic, and included the valley of the Oder; from there it extended in an irregular line to the Danube below Vienna. Germany had lost Italy forever, but had indemnified herself in a measure by the conquest and assimilation of these barbarian lands.

Cities.

Great progress had been made in Germany in culture and wealth. Numerous cities were in existence, and they were now ready to make use of the freedom afforded them by the absence of a strong ruler, to establish among themselves their powerful independent leagues.

Results of the struggle.

The struggle between Pope and Emperor resulted in the political dismemberment of both Germany and Italy. While the feudal lords of Germany had got power there, the cities of Italy were growing in independence, and the French had got a good foothold in the southern part of the peninsula. The Papacy still held its lands in the central part, but as a spiritual institution the Papacy had begun to lose ground. It was losing the religious character it had had in the days of Gregory the Great, and was now regarded more as a great political power. It had placed temporal power above its religious interests, and therefore its victory over the Empire was the beginning of its fall.

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CHAPTER XIII

MONASTICISM

The philosophic basis of asceticism.

THE philosophic basis of asceticism is the belief that matter is the seat of evil, and that therefore all contact with it is contaminating. This conception of evil is neither Christian nor Jewish, but purely heathen. Jesus used the good things of this world, teaching that sin is in nothing that is external to man, and has its seat only in the heart; but his ideas were not understood by his followers.

Conditions favorable to the introduction of asceticism into the Church.

The decay of the Empire, which set in strongly in the second century, and the violence consequent upon the invasions of the Barbarians, robbed many persons of interest in life. The world seemed to be growing old, and the end of all things approaching. The best men were filled with despair, and longed to hide themselves away from the increasing confusion and desolation.

After about 175 A.D. the Church rapidly grew worldly. As Christianity became popular, large numbers entered the Church and became Christian in name; but at heart and in life they remained heathen. The bishops were often proud and haughty and lived in great style. Those who were really in earnest about their salvation, unsatisfied with such worldliness, fled from the contamination in the Church, and went out to live in the desert, and find the way to God without the aid of the Church and her means of grace; these were for the common Christians. Those who would, could obtain by means of asceticism and prayer all that others received by means of the Church's

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sacraments. There were to be two ways of salvation: one, through the Church and her means of grace; the other, through asceticism and contemplation. Two ways of Salvation.

The beginnings of monasticism are lost in obscurity. They fall very probably in the third century. The earliest monks were hermits. They lived alone and found all the shelter they needed in a hut or a cave or in the shadow of some rock or tree. The movement began in those countries where the conditions were favorable to such an outdoor life, and spread rapidly throughout the east. In order to protect themselves against impostors and other dangers, the hermits began to build their little huts close together, and probably surrounded them by a wall for protection. They had a common chapel, and on certain days worshipped together and partook of a common meal. Though they had few rules, they elected a sort of superior who had the oversight of the whole colony. Gradually they came to live in houses, in which each monk had his own room or cell, and so maintained a certain kind of independence. In this way the ascetic life was organized on a semi-social basis. By going into the desert, the hermit, of course, had given up his possessions and his family, and it soon came to be regarded as a matter of course that he had taken the vows of poverty and chastity. When they began to live under one roof another vow was necessary—that of obedience, subjecting themselves to the rules and interests of the house. Hermits. Semi-social Organization. Three vows.

More and more this loosely organized cenobitic life became the common form, retaining, although the monks now lived together, the name of monasticism. It is this form of monasticism that has prevailed in the Greek Church, although hermits still exist there and are regarded as leading a more holy form of life. The monks of the Greek Church have really lived for the most part separated from Monasticism in the Greek Church.

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the world. Occasionally they have made themselves felt at the court, and they played a part in the great synods which were held from the fourth to the eighth centuries. Since that time monasticism in the Greek Church has had no history, because it has had no life. The monasticism of the Greek Church has helped preserve the dead forms in the Church, and prevented any change except in the direction of enriching the ceremonies and forms of worship.

Monks were first seen in the west about 340, when Athanasius brought two of them with him to Rome. They excited among the Romans feelings of mingled curiosity and disgust. But Augustine and Jerome gave the influence of their pens and their example in favor of monasticism, and it rapidly spread throughout Europe. The movement became immensely popular, and within a hundred and fifty years there were hundreds of monasteries in the west, and thousands of monks in them. It seemed for a time that this monasticism in the west would be of the same character as that in the east, and therefore would have no history and play no part in the work of the Church. But the spirit of the west took hold of it, organized it, and made of it one of the most effective tools in the hands of the Pope and Emperor to Christianize and civilize the Barbarians and extend the Church and the state. The Roman spirit of organization, of conquest and activity, would not allow the original monkish ideal to prevail. The monks had, indeed, fled from the world, but they were to be used to conquer and rule it.

Monasticism carried to the west.

At first each monastery made its own rules of discipline; each monk was allowed to do about as he pleased. There were several attempts made to harmonize these rules and make one code for all. Of all these attempts only that of Benedict of Nursia (480–543) was destined to succeed. Benedict, after spending several years as a monk in various

Benedict of Nursia, 480–543.

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places, went to Monte Casino, near Naples (528), taking with him several of those who had been with him elsewhere. There he founded the famous monastery of Monte Casino, for which he prepared his Rule. He organized the monks into a close corporation, and forbade any of them to leave the monastery without the consent of the abbot. A clear line was sharply drawn between them and the world. The occupations of the monks were fixed by him for every hour of the day and night. Periods of prayer and contemplation were to alternate with seasons of work. Strict discipline was to be enforced, and all monks must take the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.[1]

Circumstances favored the spread of Benedict's rule, and gradually it was adopted by other monasteries. Gregory the Great (590–604) established it in many places in Italy, Sicily, and England. In the seventh century it was much more widely used, and in the eighth, under Boniface, it was made the only form of monasticism in Gaul and Germany. In the next century, Benedict of Aniane helped give it a severer character. It became the orthodox rule of monasticism and at one time governed more than forty thousand monastic establishments. It was not Benedict's intention to make his monks either scholars or missionaries. The Bishops of Rome, however, used them in missionary work, and that soon came to be regarded as one of the peculiar purposes of their existence. It was principally through them that Christianity spread among the Barbarians. Cassiodorus, the prime minister of Theodoric the Great, remained in public life till about 540, when he retired to a monastery which he had founded in Calabria. There he gave himself up to literary pursuits, and required his monks to spend a certain portion of time every day in

Cassiodorus and learning in the monasteries.

[1] Henderson, Historical Documents of the Middle Ages, p. 274 ff., contains a translation of this rule.

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study. This example was imitated in other monasteries, and since it soon became apparent that a good deal of learning was necessary to manage the monastery's affairs, some of the monks in each monastery became scholars. In this way learning found a home in monasteries.

The rule of St. Benedict, which required that every monk should work, and the impulse which Cassiodorus gave them toward learning, prevented the monks of the west from becoming ignorant and useless, as were the monks of the east. They were not permitted to withdraw from the world entirely, but were made useful members of society. The monks were excellent tools in the hands of the Popes, for whose purpose of conquering the world no better man could be found than one who despised the world and had turned his back upon it. The Papacy also drew them away from their original ideal and gave them a still greater field of activity.

The monks were not necessarily clergymen. At first they were all laymen, but later it came to be the custom for them to receive ordination. The monastic life was regarded as the ideal Christian life. So prevalent was this idea that wherever possible the clergy of a diocese were gathered together and compelled to live in a common house according to a common rule. From this fact all such came to be called the "regular clergy," while the clergy of the outlying districts and villages who did not live in this way were called the "secular clergy."

Monks, regular clergy, and secular clergy.

In the tenth century the rule of St. Benedict was so little regarded, and the life in the monasteries had so degenerated, that it almost seemed that monasticism must die out. Its first great reform began in the monastery of Clugny, which was founded (910) in the hills a few miles west of Mâcon. Under the headship of a series of most capable and earnest abbots, Clugny achieved a wide repu-

Clugny.

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tation for piety. With its growing fame the number of its monks increased until it was possible to send out colonies of monks to establish new monasteries. As the spirit of reform awoke elsewhere, monks from Clugny were asked to come and introduce the new rule and ideas into other monasteries. In this way the rule became common in Europe during the tenth and eleventh centuries. All the monasteries which used it were bound together by it, and were called a "congregation." The abbot of Clugny was at the head of this congregation, and, therefore, possessed immense power. The objects which this reform had in view were those which were taken up by Gregory VII. and by him made the programme of the Papacy. The monastic rule must be made more rigorous and be more vigorously enforced. The secular clergy must be made to live after this monkish rule, and the spiritual aristocracy thus formed by the monks and clergy should have complete authority over the laity in all religious matters. Gregory VII., indeed, went a step farther; to the spiritual authority over the whole world he added also the political authority.

The Cluniac programme.

There was a great deepening of the monastic spirit in the eleventh century, so that even the rule of Clugny seemed to some to be too lax. This led to the formation of many orders, such as the Carthusians (1084), the Cistercians (1098), the Premonstrants (1120), and the Carmelites (1156), and others which achieved for the most part only a local reputation. The tendency to form separate orders, and the number of those who applied to the Pope for permission to establish new ones increased; and though Innocent III. finally refused to listen to any more appeals, and forbade the establishment of any more orders, the prohibition was immediately disregarded.

Formation of orders.

St. Francis of Assisi, the founder of the order which bears his name (Franciscans, frates minores, friars, Minor-

St. Francis.

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ites), was filled with the idea of the imitation of Christ and His apostles in their preaching, poverty, and service of others. "The brother" should spend his life on the highway, stopping to preach and minister unto others whenever occasion offered; for his bread he should work, if work could be found; if not, he might beg; he should never receive money under any circumstances, nor more food than was sufficient for his wants for the day; he must never lay up any store in this world; he must care for the sick, visit those who were in prison, cheer the downcast, recover the lost, and be to the world a Christ. The life of Jesus was to be his model in all respects. During the period from 1209 to 1226 the order of St. Francis was thoroughly established and his rule developed and confirmed by the Pope. The order, however, soon underwent a change which deeply offended St. Francis—it began to amass property and build houses.

The rule of poverty evaded.

St. Dominic.

St. Dominic, a Spaniard (1170–1221), established the order of Preaching Brothers (Fratres Prædicatores, 1215) to resist the spread of heresy in the Church. They were to be trained in all the learning of the day and made equal to the task of instructing the people in the doctrines of the Church. In 1220 he introduced the rule of poverty into the order, thus modelling it after the order of St. Francis. The two orders had much the same development, becoming large, rich, and powerful. St. Francis had not intended that his brothers should devote themselves to learning, but they took it up in imitation of the Dominicans, and the two orders furnished all the great scholars of the later Middle Age.

Faults of monasticism.

The dark side of Monasticism has been often enough painted. There were many periods of decadence in its history. The piety of the monks brought them popularity and wealth; wealth brought them leisure, idleness, and

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profligacy. The principles of monasticism were opposed to the dignity of the family, and to the proper position of woman in society. The best human talent was frequently drawn into the monastery and hence lost to the state.

Much more might, indeed, be said against the institution, but the good which it did far outweighs the evil. Monasticism furnished the missionaries who Christianized western and northern Europe. The monks were also the civilizers. Every monastery founded by them became a centre of life and learning, and hence a light to the surrounding country. They cleared the lands and brought them under cultivation. They were the farmers and taught by their example the dignity of labor in an age when the soldier was the world's hero. They preserved and transmitted much of the civilization of Rome to the Barbarians. They were the teachers of the west. Literature and learning found a refuge with them in times of violence. Their monasteries were the hotels of the Middle Age and they cared for the poor and the sick. They were the greatest builders of the Middle Age, many of the great churches of Europe being their work. Monasticism was an excellent thing for the world in those days. It was fitted to do a great work. But the times changed. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it no longer had a mission. Other forces and institutions were then at hand to carry on the work which it had begun. The proof of this is that in the fifteenth century it was dying out. The monasteries were no longer full, and it was impossible to keep their numbers complete. The old monasticism was powerless; it was no longer adapted to the character and needs of society.

The benefits of monasticism.

The Middle Age had two distinct ideals, the soldier and the monk. Contradictory as they may seem, it is not strange that they fused and produced military-monkish orders, which arose under the peculiar circumstances which

Military-monkish Orders.

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The Knights of St. John.

prevailed in Palestine during the crusades. The Knights of St. John were organized (1099) for the care of the sick among the pilgrims and crusaders. It was not long, however, until the military element was added, because being surrounded by Saracens and constantly threatened they had to defend themselves. In 1119 the Knights Templars were established in imitation of the Knights of St. John. Both orders were composed of men who took all the vows of monks, but spent their time fighting. Because of their connection with the Holy Land, the two orders became very popular throughout the west and received immense gifts.

Knights Templars.

In 1190, during the siege of Ptolemais, a hospital was established for Germans, the members of which were soon afterward organized into a military-monkish order in imitation of the two spoken of above. They were called German Knights. They tried hard to get a foothold in the east, but the other orders were so much older and had been so much longer in the field that it was impossible. In 1226 they were invited to come to Prussia (the territory east of the lower Vistula) to fight against the heathen Prussians. In 1202 Albert, bishop of Riga, had established a similar order known as the Sword Brothers, and had made use of them in conquering and Christianizing the heathen of Livonia and Esthonia. In 1237 these two orders were united, and to this union it was due that so large a territory east of the Vistula was Germanized and Christianized, and added finally to Germany.

The German Order on the Baltic

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CHAPTER XIV

MOHAMMED, MOHAMMEDANISM, AND THE CRUSADES

Political condition of Arabia.

BEFORE the time of Mohammed the Arabs had no central government. They were separated into tribes, each independent of the others. In the tribe there was a kind of patriarchal government, but no recognized officials entrusted with the enforcement of the laws and the execution of justice. Even in the towns there was no real government. Everyone claimed the right of private vengeance. Each family defended itself and its interests, and was bound to avenge any injury done to its members; consequently there were constant feuds among them. Until united by Mohammed, the Arabs can hardly be said to have had a political existence.

The religion of the Arabs was a crass idolatry. The worship of the heavenly bodies was practised, as well as that of a large number of spirits known as genii, ogres, and demons, all of which play a prominent part in their literature. They observed a holy month, in which all warfare was suspended and no one dared do even his worst enemy an injury. Markets were held during the holy season and at the holy places, and under this double security commerce flourished. About the middle of the fifth century of our era the city of Mecca was founded at a place where from time immemorial there had been a temple, known as the Kaaba. The tribe known as the Koreischites had got possession of the temple, and by collecting there all the religious rites of Arabia, made of Mecca its religious and commercial capital. Chris-

Mecca.

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tianity, although of a poor type, was known in Arabia; Judaism also was represented there by many Jewish colonies, especially along the western coast.

Mohammed, 570-632.

Of Mohammed's early life very little is known. He was born in Mecca about 570. The death of his father, mother, and grandfather left him to the care of his uncle. His family was poor, however, and Mohammed was compelled to perform the most menial labor. When about twenty-five years old he entered the service of a rich widow, whom he served so faithfully as to win her hand and heart. His marriage with her raised him from his humble position of poverty to one of influence. When about forty years old Mohammed began to preach against polytheism and idolatry. The burden of all his messages to his people was that there was one God, who required of his followers certain religious and humane duties, and who would in the next world reward or punish all men in accordance with their conduct in this. The Meccans generally did not take him seriously at first, but in the course of a few years he had gathered about him a goodly number of people who believed in him and his divine calling. His wife and children, his slaves, a few of his relatives, and several poor and humble people, especially slaves, accepted him as a prophet and attached themselves to him. During the first five years of his preaching he had also won over the four men who were to succeed him as Khalifs, Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Ali. As his following grew in numbers the Meccans began to oppose him bitterly, because he was attacking their idols and might thereby injure the reputation of the city, and also because he was establishing a society on a new basis. The union between him and his followers was not based on blood relationship, but on a common religious belief, which seemed to the Meccans dangerous and revolutionary, and their opposition developed into persecution.

His first converts.

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At first Mohammed sent some of his followers into Abyssinia, where he hoped they would be free from all interference. As the hostility of the Meccans toward him became greater, however, he saw that he must eventually leave the city. He accordingly tried to make an alliance with some tribe to whom he might retire when he withdrew from Mecca. After meeting with several refusals, he fell in with some men from Jathrib, or as it came to be called later, Medina, who were inclined to believe in his prophetic character. The Arabs of Medina lived among Jews, from whom they had learned of many of the ideas which Mohammed was proclaiming. After Mohammed had labored two years with them, the people of Medina made an alliance with him, accepting his religion and agreeing to protect him. Mohammed then sent as many of his followers to Medina as could free themselves from their entanglements in Mecca, and he himself, with Abu Bekr, soon followed. This flight of Mohammed, called the Hegira, took place in the year 622, and became the basis for the Mohammedan system of reckoning time.

Alliance with Medina.

The Hegira, 622.

During the first year after the flight Mohammed tried hard to win the Jews of Medina and the surrounding country, believing that since they were monotheists there could be but little difference between them and himself. Under Jewish influence he developed certain religious ceremonies, such as fasting and prayer. All the references in the Koran to the Jews during this period are friendly; but before the first year was passed, Mohammed discovered that the Jews could not be won by him. This led him to turn from them and exert himself in the conversion of the Arabs. Up to this time Jerusalem had been regarded by him as the Holy City. During prayer he and his followers had turned their faces toward it. Now he determined to win the Arabs, and his first step was to make Mecca which, although the great

Mohammed turns from the Jews to the Arabs.

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national centre of the Arabs, had played an unimportant rôle in his belief, the Holy City of his religion. Mecca and the Kaaba replaced Jerusalem and the temple. To justify this change Mohammed made use of the tradition of Abraham and Ishmael, connecting them with the building of the Kaaba and making Abraham the father of the Arabs. Abraham had been made to do duty by both Jews and Christians, both having laid claim to him; Mohammed now declared that Abraham had been neither Jew nor Christian, but Mohammedan.

The desire of revenge leads Mohammed to resort to arms.

But Mecca was not in the hands of Mohammed, and the Meccans were hostile to him. For the purpose of revenge, as well as of getting possession of the Kaaba, Mohammed began to instil into the minds of his followers the idea that war against those who had done violence to the faithful was justifiable. In a short time, in order to precipitate a war, he sent out some of his men to attack and rob a caravan of the Meccans. Inflamed by the hope of booty, the people of Medina now joined him in an attempt to capture another caravan on its way to Mecca; but its leader outwitted them. About one thousand men had come out from Mecca to defend the caravan and to avenge themselves for the previous loss which they had sustained. Mohammed, with only about three hundred men, met the thousand Meccans at Badr, and after killing about seventy of them, put the rest to flight. Much booty was taken, which Mohammed judiciously distributed among those who had fought for him.

The change wrought in him by military success.

This military success of Mohammed quite turned him from the propagation of his faith in a peaceable way to the use of the sword. It soon became his settled policy to compel the Arabians to accept him and his religion. During the rest of his life he suffered but few reverses; before his death all Arabia acknowledged him, and his followers were prepared to carry his faith by force into all lands.

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Mohammed's life may be divided into two periods. During the first one he was a preacher of righteousness, a reformer. Those parts of the Koran delivered during this period are religious and poetical. He felt religious truth so directly that he believed that God was speaking to him. It is difficult to believe that during this period Mohammed was an impostor, or that he consciously used fraud. But after the flight he was moved by considerations that were not wholly religious. It was his desire for revenge that led him to attack Mecca. He felt that he was establishing a new religion and a new state. As his interests became political, he lost sight of the purer objects of his religion, resorting to means which seem to us very questionable, though he probably thought that the purpose he had in view justified him in all he did. During the last years of his life he was lacking in inspiration. He was dull and prolix, and the later chapters of the Koran are by no means equal to the earlier ones.

Mohammed not an impostor. At first a reformer he becomes a politician.

While Mohammed had many of the faults of his age, he was in many respects also far ahead of it. He practised and permitted polygamy, and may seem to have degraded woman; but it must be remembered that polygamy was practised among his people long before his time, and he did much in other ways to raise woman to a higher plane. A proper estimate of his character can be formed only after a careful study of his times and a knowledge of him in all the relations of his life. Many of his most serious faults were due either to his conception of the prophetic office, or to the character of his times or people. His character was full of contrasts. Noeldeke compares him in this respect with King David, in whom we find the greatest vindictiveness, cruelty, and deceit joined with the most noble qualities. Mohammed was simple and modest, even in the days of his greatest success living in the most simple

His character.

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fashion, mending his own clothes, and attending to his own wants. He needed no slaves, and consequently liberated most of the captives who fell to him in the distribution of spoil. He was never a tyrant to his people. He was mild, gentle, forgiving, and conciliatory. He associated freely with men of every rank. He was free from luxury in food, dress, and surroundings. He was true in all his friendships and deeply grateful for any kindness shown him. In common with his age, he was superstitious and belived in the influence of good and evil spirits, and the importance of dreams and all kinds of omens.

His quickening influence on the Arabs.

Mohammed made the Arabs into a nation and brought them into history. His influence on them intellectually may be seen from the fact that for nearly three hundred years the Arabs led the world in civilization. The good parts of his work were later destroyed by the ignorant and fanatical peoples from central Asia, who came down and acquired the political power over the Mohammedan world. Under their influence all the evils of Mohammed's religion were developed and its good destroyed. Mohammed himself is not responsible for the Mohammedanism of to-day, which is the creation of the Turkish peoples who adopted his religion and ruled it for nearly eight hundred years. Turkish Mohammedanism is a very different thing from the early Arabic Mohammedanism.

Modern Mohammedanism is Turkish.

Mohammed was a religious genius. It may be objected that he produced nothing new and that he was indebted to the Jews and Christians for nearly all his ideas. While that is true, he nevertheless felt, as no one else had for several centuries, the power of these ideas. He saw and felt a great religious truth in a direct way. His originality consisted not so much in new knowledge as in the vigor, directness, and certainty of his religious perceptions. Others might have learned the same things from the Jews and Christians,

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but Mohammed alone felt their truth and breathed into them a new religious power.

Mohammed died in 632, and in turn four of his earliest converts, Abu Bekr (632–34), Omar (634–44), Othman (644–55), and Ali (655–61), were elected Khalif. Before the death of Ali, Syria, Persia, the Euphrates valley, and all the territory as far as the Oxus river and the confines of India, and Egypt, with a part of north Africa, were conquered and converted to the faith of Mohammed. But dissensions arose, and Othman and Ali were both murdered. A relative of Othman's made himself Khalif and established himself in Damascus (661) instead of in Medina. He and his family are known as the Ommeiades, and they ruled in Damascus till, in 750, the Abbassides, the descendants of an uncle of Mohammed, usurped the Khalifate and removed its seat to Bagdad. This change of capital was a mistake, because from that city it was impossible to rule the whole Mohammedan world. Egypt and Spain revolted and set up rival Khalifs. In the eleventh century the Seldjuk Turks came down from central Asia and made themselves master of all the Mohammedan parts of Asia. In 1058 their leader, Togrul Beg, went to Bagdad, received all the temporal authority of the Khalif, and became Sultan of the Mohammedan world. The Khalif became merely a religious officer; the political authority rested in the hands of Togrul Beg and his successors. The changed Khalifate continued till 1258, when the son of the great conqueror, Ghengis Khan, put to death the last Khalif at Bagdad.

Divisions in the Mohammedan world.

In 750, when the Ommeiad dynasty was destroyed, one member of the family escaped and made his way to Spain, where he was received with honor and recognized as the lord of the country. With the name of Emir or Sultan, he and his descendants ruled in Spain till 929, when they

Spain.

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assumed the title of Khalif. Under this family the Mohammedan power in Spain was well united and enjoyed a season of great prosperity. In 1031, however, a revolution put an end to the Khalifate, breaking it into a large number of small principalities, and the Christians, pressing in on all sides, reconquered some of their territory.

Africa.

After the fall of the Ommeiads Africa suffered a long period of violence and discord; but in the tenth century a pretended descendant of Fatima, a daughter of Mohammed, got possession of it. His descendants founded Cairo (969) and made it the seat of their government. They controlled nearly all the islands of the western Mediterranean and held several posts in Italy and France. By constant wars, however, their power was broken, and in 1171 Saladin, the ruler of western Asia, conquered Egypt and made an end of the Khalifate of Cairo.

The Arabic civilization.

During the five centuries following Mohammed's death there was produced among his followers a civilization far in advance of anything in Europe. The basis for it all they received from Persia and Greece, but they added much to the stock thus obtained. In the administration of the government the Mohammedans had an excellent system, which was pretty thoroughly unified. Their system of taxation was good. They restored the old Roman roads and built new ones, binding all parts of the empire together, and they constructed canals and aqueducts. A postal system was in operation among them. Cities sprang up in all parts of the empire, many of them numbering a half million or more inhabitants. They developed a beautiful style of architecture, which was characterized by the round and horse-shoe arch, the dome, the tall and graceful minaret, and the richness of its interior ornamentation. In everything connected with their buildings they showed the most exquisite taste and appreciation of beauty, and their

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architectural remains are still the wonder and envy of the world.

Learning.

They established universities, which excelled all those of Europe for several centuries. The mosques were generally the seats of universities or learned societies, and were the places where all sorts of questions were freely discussed. The universities of Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova were especially famous, but there were also many others. The university of Cairo, which still exists in the mosque El-Azhar, had as many as twelve thousand students. Libraries were formed, some of which are said to have contained several hundred thousand volumes. The universities, especially in Spain, were visited by many Christians, who thus carried the Mohammedan learning and culture into Christian Europe. One of the most famous of these students was Gerbert, afterward Pope Sylvester II., who did much to introduce the science of mathematics into Europe. Philosophy, theology, law, rhetoric, and philology were studied with great zest. Dictionaries were compiled, and commentaries on the Koran written. The Mohammedans were acquainted with the works of Aristotle, and their philosophical systems were based on him. Several works by them on travel and history and some biographies are handed down to us.

Mathematics.

In mathematics they built on the work of the Greek mathematicians. The origin of the so-called Arabic numerals is obscure. Under Theoderic the Great, Boëthius made use of certain signs which were in part very like the nine digits which we now use. One of the pupils of Gerbert also used signs which were still more like ours, but the zero was unknown till in the twelfth century, when it was invented by an Arab mathematician named Mohammed-Ibn-Mousa, who also first used the decimal notation and gave the digits the value of position. In geometry the

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Arabs did not add much to Euclid, but Algebra is practically their creation, and they developed spherical trigonometry also, inventing the sine, tangent, and cotangent. In physics they invented the pendulum, and produced works on optics and kindred subjects. They made progress in the science of astronomy. They built several observatories and constructed many astronomical instruments which are still in use. They calculated the angle of the ecliptic and the precession of the equinoxes. Their knowledge of the subject was undoubtedly profound.

Medicine.

In medicine they made great advances over the work of the Greeks in the same line. They studied physiology and hygiene, and their "materia medica" was practically the same as ours to-day. Many of their methods of treatment are still in use among us. Their surgeons performed some of the most difficult operations known. They knew the use of anæsthetics. At the time when in Europe the practice of medicine was forbidden by the Church, and cures were expected to be effected by religious rites performed by the clergy, the Arabs had a real science of medicine. In chemistry they made a good beginning. They discovered many new substances and compounds, such as alcohol, potassium, nitrate of silver, corrosive sublimate, and nitric and sulphuric acid.

There was great literary activity among them, and they produced many works of the imagination. They had a special fondness for poetry. In manufactures they outdid the world in variety and beauty of design and perfection of workmanship. They worked in all the metals—gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron, and steel. In textile fabrics they have never been surpassed. They made glass and pottery of the finest quality. They knew the secrets of dyeing and they manufactured paper. They had many processes of dressing leather, and their work was famous throughout

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Europe. They made tinctures, essences, and syrups. They made sugar from the cane and grew many fine kinds of wine. They practised farming in a scientific way. They had good systems of irrigation. They knew the value of fertilizers, and fitted their crops to the quality of the ground. They excelled in horticulture, knowing how to graft and being able to produce new varieties of fruits and flowers. They introduced into the west many trees and plants from the east, and wrote scientific treatises on farming.

Commerce.

Their commerce attained great proportions. Their caravans traversed the empire from one end to the other, and their sails covered the seas. They held at many places great fairs and markets, some of which were visited by merchants from all parts of Europe and Asia. Their merchants had connections with China, India, and the East Indies, with the interior of Africa and with Russia, and with all the countries lying around the Baltic.

Arabic civilization destroyed by the Turks.

Much of the Mohammedan civilization was destined to be introduced into Europe, especially by means of the crusades. In its own home, however, it suffered almost complete annihilation by the coming of the ignorant and fanatical Turks, who showed, indeed, that they could prey upon it, but could not assimilate and improve it; whose fanaticism led them to oppose all science, because it might be injurious to their religious belief; and whose hatred of people of other religions led them into wars with them, during which industries and commerce languished. Since the Turks were Barbarians and without any appreciation of the necessaries as well as the luxuries of civilized life, they tended to destroy the culture which they found. Since their coming Mohammedanism has no longer been what it was originally, and the lands which were once gardens are now almost like a desert.

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The descendants of Togrul Beg continued their conquests to the west till they took Asia Minor from the Emperor and even threatened Constantinople. In his extremity the Emperor is said to have sent messengers to the Pope to ask aid. In 1095 Urban II. went into France, and at a council at Clermont called on all the west to take up arms and recover the holy places. He met with an unexpected response. After he had ceased speaking, thousands pressed around him, took the vow to go on the crusade and received the sign, a red cross fastened on the right shoulder, diagonally across the breast. Urban renewed the prohibition of private war, put the property of all crusaders under the special protection of the Church, offered large rewards to all who would join the movement, and commanded the clergy to preach the crusade in all parts of France. Among the many who went out to preach the crusade was Peter the Hermit. The ordinary accounts of Peter, which made him the originator of the crusade, are entirely false. He had never been in Palestine; had never seen the Pope; and had nothing to do with Urban till after the crusade had been announced at Clermont. By his preaching he got together a few thousand men and women—simply a disorderly mob without arms—and set out for Palestine. He led them to Constantinople and thence a short distance into Asia Minor, where they were cut to pieces by the Turks. Peter himself escaped to Constantinople, and waited for the main army to come up.

Urban II. preaches the first crusade.

Peter the Hermit.

There was no leader of the crusade, and no central authority. From the north of France came Hugo of Vermandois, a brother of King Philip I.; Stephen of Blois, Robert of Normandy, Godfrey of Boulogne and his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin, and their nephew, Baldwin the Younger; from southern France, Raymond, count of Toulouse; and from Italy, Boemund and his nephew,

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Tancred. Of all these only one, Boemund, had any ability as a leader; and unfortunately for the undertaking, it was impossible for him to obtain the leadership. Each one led his own men, and was practically independent of all the others. It is said that the army which was thus brought together numbered nearly a million, but we have no means of forming an accurate estimate of its size.

The leaders inefficient, the army not consolidated.

The crusading army was very motley in its make-up. Many had, of course, joined the movement for religious motives, and wished to have a part in the meritorious work of reconquering the holy places. The Pope had promised remission of sins to all who should lose their lives while on the crusade, and many supernatural advantages seemed likely to be derived from such an undertaking. Others were there who had run away from their debts or from their families; there were even criminals, who hoped thus to escape punishment. Many serfs ran away from their lords, and from the hard condition under which they lived. Many came because of the opportunity to gratify their love of adventure and travel. The leaders, almost without exception, had joined in the movement principally because they wished to acquire power and establish an independent principality somewhere in the east, on lands to be taken from the Saracens or from the Greeks. The Pope had the desire to deliver the holy places, but at the same time he wished to extend his ecclesiastical authority over the east. The cities of Italy, some of which joined to a certain extent in the first crusade, were led principally by the desire to extend their commerce and to secure harbor privileges in the east.

Motives of the Crusaders.

Remembering his recent experiences with Robert Guiscard, Alexius, the Emperor at Constantinople, feared the crusaders. He divined the purpose of the leaders and felt that he was not secure from their attacks. It was quite

Alexius has good grounds for fearing the crusaders.

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natural that he should endeavor to protect his interests. As the leaders arrived at Constantinople he either persuaded or forced them to take an oath that they would deliver to him all the territory which they should conquer, promising them that, if they wished, they might receive it back as a fief. Boemund was the only one of the crusaders frank enough to tell the Emperor what his intentions were. He offered his services, plainly informing Alexius that he wished to make his fortune in the east; but the Emperor distrusted him.

Nicæa taken, 1097.

In 1097 the army, after crossing the Bosporus, set out for Nicæa. After besieging the town for several days, they were about to take it when Alexius secured its surrender to himself. The crusaders, not allowed to sack the place, were angry with Alexius, and accused him of acting in bad faith with them. Their charges were, however, without foundation.

Antioch taken, 1098.

The march through Asia Minor was a difficult one and many perished by the way of hunger and thirst. Toward the end of October, 1097, the army reached Antioch, which they soon besieged. The city held out for several months, and a great army under Kerbogha, Emir of Mosul, was approaching for its relief, when Boemund told the other leaders that if they would agree to give him Antioch for his possession, he would deliver it into their hands. They consented, and the following night Boemund secured an entrance into the city. At daybreak the gates were opened, the crusaders rushed in, and the work of destruction and pillage began. The Mohammedans were killed without pity and their houses looted. Only the citadel held out, but to this, in the wild scramble for spoil, the crusaders paid no attention. Three days later Kerbogha arrived, and now the crusaders became the besieged. For a few days Kerbogha pushed the siege with great vigor. The

Kerbogha.

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Christians lost courage, and it seemed that the city could not hold out against Kerbogha; but a pious fraud was now planned, which filled the crusaders with enthusiasm and enabled them to overcome the besieging army. It was said that in a vision the whereabouts of the holy lance had been revealed to one of the crusaders, and when they dug in the place designated, of course they found the lance. Some of the crusaders knew that this was a fraud, but others believed in it. When the army marched out with this lance at its head, the army of Kerbogha was put to utter rout, leaving its camp in the hands of the Christians.

In the meantime Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, had gone to Edessa and had by very questionable means made himself master of the city. Edessa became a most important outpost of the Christians. Edessa.

After the destruction of Kerbogha's army the way was open to Jerusalem. Boemund wished to remain in Antioch until he had got the city under his control. Raymond of Toulouse, envious at the good fortune of Boemund, and himself coveting the city, refused to proceed to Jerusalem. He tried in vain in every way to gain a foothold in the neighborhood of Antioch and to dispossess Boemund. At length the crusaders, angry at the delay, declared they would burn Antioch unless Raymond gave up the struggle and led them on to Jerusalem. Raymond yielded very unwillingly, and more than once stopped by the way and laid siege to some town. At last, worn out with waiting, the crusaders set fire to their tents and began a mad sort of race toward Jerusalem. Reaching the city they besieged it for several weeks, and finally stormed it, July 15, 1099. Ambition of Raymond of Toulouse. Jerusalem taken, 1099.

Hardly was the city taken when a quarrel arose as to what should be done with it. The clergy wished to make it an ecclesiastical state under the rule of a Patriarch. The

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princes, however, would not listen to this, but could with difficulty find any one who wished to assume control of it. In the end a compromise was effected by which Godfrey of Boulogne was put over it with the title of Protector of the Holy Grave. A few days later the crusaders left Jerusalem and began their journey home, and the first crusade was at an end. It had cost Europe an immense number of men, and, if we look at the actual results, had accomplished very little. Boemund had possession of Antioch, Baldwin of Edessa, and Godfrey of Jerusalem. Alexius had also regained nearly all of Asia Minor. In the eyes of the west, however, the reconquest of the Holy Grave was by far the most important result of the crusade and well worth all that it had cost. The returning crusaders were received with every mark of honor, and their stories so filled the people with enthusiasm that a new crusade was immediately organized. From 1100 to 1102 several hundred thousand men went to the east, only to be cut to pieces in Asia Minor.

Godfrey of Boulogne made Protector of the Holy Grave, 1099.

Crusade of 1100–2.

Strife among the Christian states in Syria.

The Christian states which had been founded in the east had a checkered history, many chapters of which were far from ideal. Lack of good political judgment, jealousy, intrigue, and treachery prevented their best development. They quarrelled with the Emperor and with each other, and it often happened that alliances were made between the Mohammedans and the Christians of one state against those of another.

The new emir of Mosul, Zenki, was ambitious to rule over the Mohammedan world and began a policy of conquest. In 1144 he took Edessa and threatened both Antioch and Jerusalem, till, in their extremity, the Christians appealed to the west for help. The fall of Edessa caused great consternation in Europe, without, however, producing any immediate action.

Zenki takes Edessa, 1144.

Europe had undergone a great change since Urban II.

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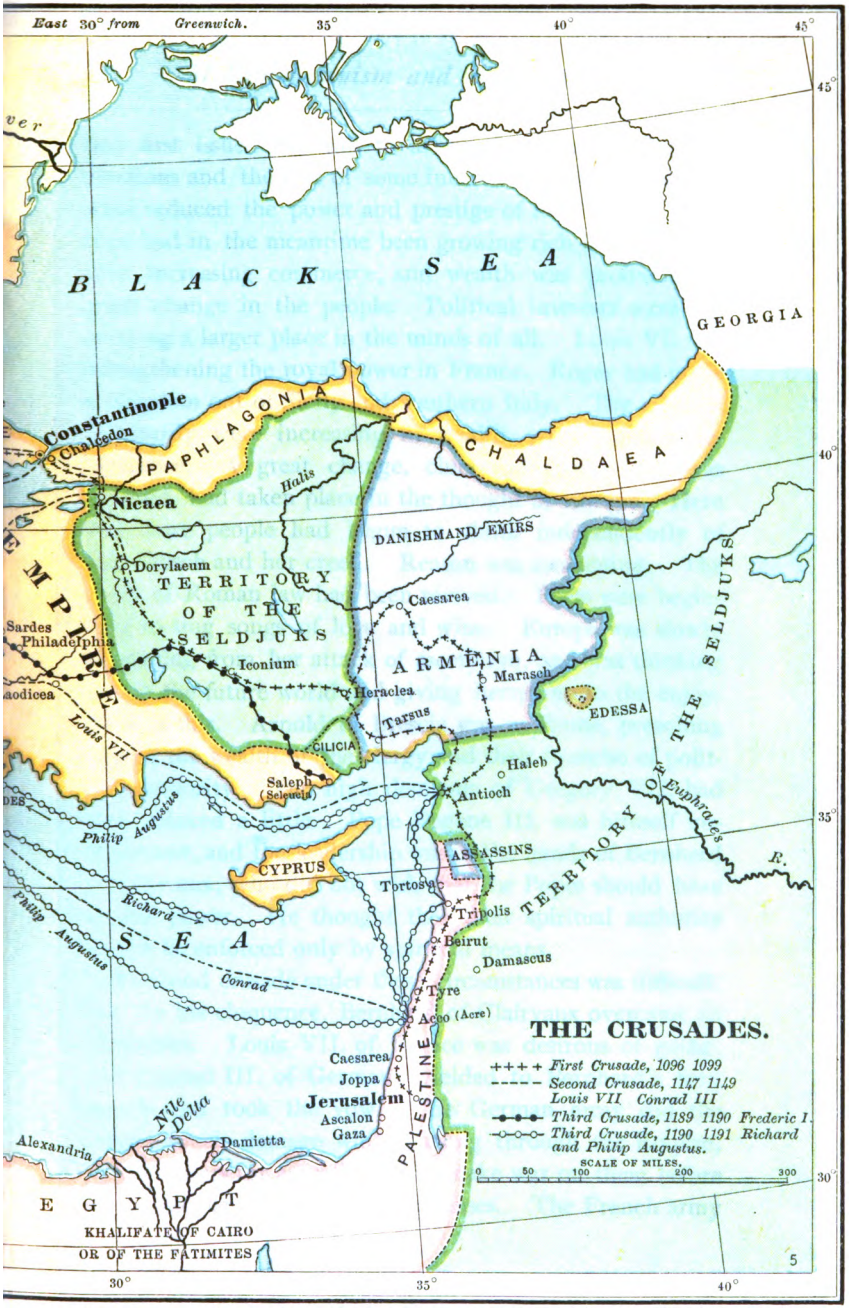

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had first issued the call to a crusade. Contested papal elections and the rule of some inefficient Popes had somewhat reduced the power and prestige of the Papacy. Europe had in the meantime been growing rich from her rapidly increasing commerce, and wealth was producing a great change in the people. Political interests were occupying a larger place in the minds of all. Louis VI. was strengthening the royal power in France. Roger had made a kingdom out of Sicily and southern Italy. The cities of Lombardy were increasing in wealth, power, and independence. A great change, chief index of which was Abelard, had taken place in the thought of Europe. Here and there people had begun to think independently of the Church and her creed. Reason was awakening. The study of Roman law had been revived. Poets were beginning to sing songs of love and wine. Europe was slowly recovering from her attack of asceticism, and was thinking less of the future world and giving herself up to the enjoyment of this. Arnold of Brescia was in Rome, preaching against the wealth of the clergy and their exercise of political authority. The high demands of Gregory VII. had been relaxed a little. Pope Eugene III. was himself unimportant, and the leadership was in the hands of Bernhard of Clairvaux, who did not wish that the Popes should have secular power. He thought that their spiritual authority should be enforced only by spiritual means.

Europe changed.

A second crusade under these circumstances was difficult. But, by his eloquence, Bernhard of Clairvaux overcame all difficulties. Louis VII. of France was desirous of going, and Conrad III. of Germany yielded to Bernhard's fiery speech and took the vow. The German army did the Greeks much damage while passing through the Empire, and the Emperor actually had to make war on them before they could be brought to their senses. The French army

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was more discreet; but to make the situation more critical, King Robert II. of Sicily was making war on the Empire. The Emperor was in great danger from the crusaders, but he was adroit enough to keep the peace with them and get them across the Bosporus. Both armies, however, went to pieces in Asia Minor. Hunger, thirst, the fatigue of the journey, and the weapons of the Mohammedans left only a few thousand men who reached Palestine. There they made the mistake of besieging Damascus, whose emir was friendly to the Christians, instead of using all their efforts to break the power of Zenki, the real enemy. The second crusade ended in making the condition of the Christians in Syria worse instead of better; and Europe was so disgusted with the failure of the great preparations, that for many years no further efforts were made to send reënforcements to the east.

Failure of the second crusade, 1147-49.

Fortunately for the Syrian Christians, Zenki died and his power went to pieces; but they learned no wisdom from their experiences. Intrigue and treachery increased among them. They became weaker and more contemptible till, in 1187, Saladin, who had made himself master of western Asia and Egypt, was forced to make war on them. He had borne with them for a long time, but finally, enraged at their faithlessness, he attacked them, and in a few weeks had taken all their strongholds. His capture of Jerusalem stirred the west profoundly and led the great rulers, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Philip II. of France, and Richard I. of England to organize a crusade for its recovery. After the most careful and statesmanlike preparations, Frederick led a well-disciplined army of one hundred thousand men through Asia Minor, only to meet his death by drowning while crossing a swollen mountain stream, and the army, left without a leader, melted away. Only a few of them reached Syria.

Saladin conquers Syria, 1187.

Frederick Barbarossa.

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Philip II. and Richard I.

The armies of Philip and Richard went by sea and safely reached their destination; but their effectiveness was diminished by the quarrel which broke out between the two kings. On the way Richard conquered Cyprus and made of it a Christian kingdom, which was to be a strong defence for many years against the Mohammedans. Before the armies had reached Syria the Christians there had made the mistake of attacking Acco, a strong fortress on the coast. Their efforts should have been to drive Saladin into the interior. They did not specially need Acco, since they already had several good ports, and in taking it the third crusade wore itself out. After its capture Philip returned home, and Richard, too, after engaging in many chivalrous adventures without accomplishing anything for the good of the cause, sailed away. He was shipwrecked in the Adriatic, taken prisoner, and set free only on the payment of a heavy ransom. The third crusade was also a failure, for the conquest of Acco was no adequate return for the expenditure of means, effort, and life which had been made.

The siege of Acco.

Henry VI.

The crusade of Henry VI. was only a part of his larger plan of conquest, by which he meant to make himself master of the Greek Empire and of the east. In 1196 he sent an army of sixty thousand men into Syria; but his unexpected death left his men without a master, and the army's dissolution was rapid.

The west was exhausted and discouraged. Her great armies had melted away in the east without accomplishing anything. Hundreds of thousands of men were still ready to take the crusader's vow, but few were willing to fulfil it. All the efforts of Innocent III. could bring together only a few thousand knights, who, hoping to secure the service of the Venetian fleet in their undertaking, went to Venice. Being unable to pay the whole sum demanded for trans-

The 1ourth crusade directed against Constantinople, 1202-4.

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portation, they agreed to work for their passage by assisting the Venetians in reducing Zara, a city on the coast of Dalmatia, and the home of pirates who had been preying on the commerce of the Venetians. In October, 1202, Zara was reduced and the crusaders demanded the fulfilment of the agreement. They wished to be carried to Egypt because it seemed to them that it would be better to attack the Mohammedan power in its most important seat. But Venice was at peace with the Mohammedans of Egypt, and was enjoying a rich commerce with them. The Doge of Venice, therefore, shrewdly turned the crusaders aside from their purpose and led them against Constantinople. His purpose in this was to avenge himself and wipe out a private grudge against the city, and also to secure more harbor and commercial privileges in the east. Constantinople was at this time the leading commercial city of the Mediterranean; Venice envied her her supremacy and hoped with the help of the crusaders to humble her. The crusaders themselves had little interest in the war with the Mohammedans. They were for the most part soldiers of fortune, adventurers ready for any undertaking that promised them a rich reward. An exiled Emperor offered them a large sum of money if they would restore him to his throne, and Venice added her inducements. In spite of the opposition of the Pope, the crusaders therefore moved against Constantinople and took it. They soon quarrelled with the Emperor whom they had restored because he could not pay what he had promised, and this led to the sacking of the city, the expulsion of the Emperor, and the establishment of a western man as ruler in Constantinople. This Latin kingdom, as it was called, was not ended till 1261, when the Greeks put an end to it and restored an Emperor of their own. The Venetians received as their share of the spoils in 1204 many of the Greek islands, some parts of the mainland of Greece and a

The Latin kingdom in the east, 1204–61.

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large quarter, and harbor and commercial privileges in Constantinople. From this time they controlled to a great extent the eastern Mediterranean, and were the foremost commercial power of Europe.

The crusades which followed this expedition against Constantinople were all unimportant in their results. The most curious of them all was the Children's Crusade. In the summer of 1212 forty thousand children were brought together in Germany and crossed the Alps into Italy. The number gradually melted away by deaths, desertions, or seizures, and only a handful of them reached Brindisi, from which a few of them are said to have sailed, never to be heard of again. The fate of the French children was even worse. Thirty thousand of them joined in the march toward Marseilles, from which port probably five thousand of them sailed away, only to be betrayed and sold as slaves in the Mohammedan markets.

The Children's Crusade.

In 1217 another crusade was attempted, which resulted in the capture of Damietta. The Christians, however, were not able to improve their opportunities, the city was soon taken from them, and their army was destroyed. Frederick II. tried to make a crusade, but won all his victories by diplomacy and not by the sword. In 1239–40 another crusade was made, but without results. In 1244 Mohammedan Asia was overrun by a wild horde of Turks who had been called in by one of the political factions of the Mohammedans themselves, and who devastated the country west of the Euphrates and captured Jerusalem and all the Christian cities in southern Syria; and from this time Jerusalem, lost to the Christians, was destined to remain under Mohammedan control. Louis IX. of France undertook to recover the Holy City, but after some successes in Egypt his army was destroyed and he returned to Europe without having accomplished anything. He made another crusade

The last crusades unimportant.

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in 1270, the objective point of which was Tunis, but during the siege of that city he died.

Syria reconquered by the Mohammedans.

The end of the Christian power in Syria was fast approaching. The military-monkish Orders fought with each other, and the Venetians and other Italian states were engaged in constant feuds. The Mohammedans were carrying on the work of conquest with skill. In 1265 Cæsarea and Arsuf were taken and destroyed. The great fortress Safed fell the next year. In 1268 Joppa shared the same fate, and the whole of northern Syria was lost by the surrender of Antioch in May of the same year. Thereupon Gregory X. had a crusade preached throughout all Europe, but without success. More than once divisions among the Mohammedans gave the remaining Christians in Syria a little respite, but their fate could not be avoided. Tripolis was taken in 1289, and in 1291 Acco was besieged and after a few months of brave resistance captured. The Christians were thus driven out of Syria, and the whole country was in the hands of the Mohammedans. The Knights of St. John established themselves on some of the islands, especially Rhodes, which they held for nearly two hundred years. Cyprus remained a Latin kingdom until 1489, when it was seized by Venice and made a part of her territory.

Although there were no more crusades, the idea of having one did not die. Several Popes during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries called on Europe to arm itself against the Mohammedans. Several kings of France even took the cross and proclaimed a crusade. This was, however, done apparently for no other purpose than to afford the king an opportunity to collect some extraordinary taxes.

Why did the crusades cease?

The reasons for the cessation of the crusades are many. In the first place they had all failed. Millions of lives and untold wealth had been squandered in the east, and noth-

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ing had been accomplished. The people of Europe lost faith in the movement. The crusading spirit was turned into other channels. In Spain the war was kept up with the Mohammedans. On the eastern frontiers of Germany crusades were carried on against the heathen Letts and Slavs. The heretics in the Empire were put on the same plane as the infidels, and wars against them were declared to be as holy and deserving of the same rewards as those against the Mohammedans. Then the national life of the countries was growing much stronger. International struggles arose, and all the forces of the country were needed at home. At the same time the religious needs of the people were satisfied in another way. Gethsemanes, Via Dolorosas, and Calvaries were constructed in the west, and these artificial holy places came to be regarded with almost as much superstitious reverence as were their originals. The rising sale of indulgences also made it unnecessary to go on a long and dangerous journey to the holy land to win religious peace. The life of Europe grew larger, its interests more complex, and the fields of its activity more numerous. There was no longer any surplus of energy to be spent in such far-away enterprises.

That the crusades failed to accomplish what they were organized to do is evident. The causes of this failure are not far to seek. The crusaders themselves were much to blame, both while on the way and after they reached the east. They were too lawless and moblike. They lacked good leaders. The princes quarrelled constantly, and their personal ambitions, especially those of the Normans, kept them from working for the common good. The Greek Emperors, too, followed a disastrous policy, although the conduct of the crusaders generally drove them to it. The struggle between the German Emperors and the Popes also had a baneful influence. The Italian cities come in for their

Causes of failure.

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share of the blame because they were interested so deeply in commerce that they often sacrificed the common interests to their selfish ends. Finally, the difficulty of colonizing so large a territory and of absorbing the Mohammedan population was so great that it could not be overcome.

Effect of the crusades.

The effects, both direct and indirect, of the crusades on Europe were great and varied. They did much to increase the power of the Papacy, especially during the first hundred years. Urban II. virtually was at the head of Christian Europe, and his leadership of this most popular movement confirmed him in the high place in the mind of the Christian world. Chivalry was perhaps inevitable, but the crusades forced it to become organized and made of it the institution which it became. The military-monkish Orders owed their existence wholly to the crusades. The conquests of the German Order among the heathen on the Baltic may be regarded as one of the most important of their indirect effects.

Feudalism.

The crusades helped destroy feudalism. The barons often sold their rights, privileges, lands, and other feudal possessions in order to get money to go on a crusade. The creation of a new nobility to offset the old was also hastened by the crusades. They diminished the number of feudal subjects of the lower class and so created the demand for laborers which resulted in the elevation of the serfs into a class of free day-laborers. They also had some effect on the process by which the kings were increasing their power at the expense of the nobles. They did not destroy feudalism, but did much to weaken it. Since they brought together large numbers of people of all countries, they developed the consciousness of national differences. Each nation came to hate all the others, one of the necessary steps, apparently, in the development of nationality.

On commerce the effects of the crusades were most

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marked. They gave a great impetus to ship-building, since the carrying of pilgrims between Europe and Asia came to be a lucrative occupation, and the amount of commerce greatly increased. Many new objects of merchandise were now introduced into Europe. The crusades created and supplied a large demand in the west for wines, sugar, cotton, silk, all kinds of textile fabrics, rugs, pottery, glass-ware, spices, medicines, perfumes, coloring substances, incense, various kinds of oil, mastix, dates, grains, and many other things. It would not be too much to say that the crusades made Europe rich. The cities especially profited by the commerce, which greatly hastened the rise of the citizen or middle class. The crusades gave a strong impulse to literary activity. Many chronicles, histories, and poems were written about them, and the legends which grew out of them were innumerable. The literature of chivalry may be traced indirectly to the same impulse. Under their influence the great cycles of legends about Solomon, Troy, and Alexander the Great, arose. In 1141 the Koran was translated into Latin. About the same time a school was established in Paris to teach the eastern languages, such as Armenian and Arabic. Commerce.

Also Europe's fund of knowledge was generally increased. As regards zoölogy, the crusaders became acquainted with many animals which aroused their curiosity, and their interest resulted in the formation of zoölogical gardens, first of all in Sicily and Italy, in which strange animals were collected. Further, some new domestic animals were introduced into Europe, such as the mule, the donkey, and the Arab horse.

In botany and practical farming Europe had much to learn from the Arabs. They taught the best methods of irrigation. The "Dutch" windmill is an Arabic invention, used for grinding corn and drawing water in the Practical farming.

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east, till it was introduced into Europe by the crusaders. Many new plants and grains were brought to the west, and experiments made in their cultivation.

Medicine and chemistry.

In medicine and chemistry, which among the Arabs were closely related, the Christians learned of sirups, juleps, elixir, camphor, senna, rhubarb, and many similar articles. Many chemical terms, such as alembic, alcohol, alkali, borax, and amalgam, are Arabic in origin. The Arabs' knowledge of mathematics and astronomy has already been spoken of, and the intercourse between the Christians and the Mohammedans facilitated the spread to the west of the Arabic achievements in these subjects.

The horizon of Europe enlarged.

Most important of all, perhaps, was the general enlargement of the intellectual horizon of Europe, caused by the travel of the Christians in foreign lands which had a different, higher, and finer civilization than their own. Life in the west was still very rude. The houses lacked all luxuries and comforts, and most of those things which are now regarded as necessaries. The European, whose experiences had been very limited indeed, entered into a new world when he set out on a crusade. He found new climates, new natural products, strange dress, houses, and customs. The features of the landscape, and even the skies above him, were different, and in the houses he found many new objects of comfort and luxury. The geographical knowledge of the west was very limited, but the crusades brought experience in travel and a practical knowledge of large territories so that great interest was aroused in the study of geography. A good knowledge of the Mediterranean and large parts of Asia and Africa was acquired. The curiosity awakened by the new regions, together with the mercenary and commercial interests in many quarters, led Europeans to undertake long journeys of discovery. One of the most famous of the travellers of the Middle Age was Marco

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Polo, who traversed central Asia, visiting all the peoples of that region, and finally reaching even the Pacific. Other travellers only a little less famous are Plan Carpin and Andrew of Longjumeau. The accounts of their travels, which they published, were very widely read, and while adding information they increased the interest of Europe in foreign lands. The influence of the crusades in this direction can hardly be overestimated. Without them the Renaissance could not have been what it was.

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CHAPTER XV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITIES, MORE ESPECIALLY IN FRANCE

The cities in the Empire.

THE history of the cities of the Roman Empire during the first ten centuries of the Christian era is obscure. In Gaul, besides a larger number of strongholds (castra) there were more than one hundred cities (civitates) governed by the Roman municipal form of government. In the fourth century they were all on the road to ruin because of the financial oppression which they endured from the Emperor. Some time during or after the invasion of the Barbarians municipal government was destroyed, and the cities passed into the hands of a bishop or of some nobleman in the neighborhood, a city often being divided, with the bishop in control of part of it and the nobleman ruling over the remainder. Some of the cities were actually destroyed by the invasion and their sites entirely lost.

The Germans, it will be remembered, generally settled in the country. At the time of Karl the Great by far the larger number of the inhabitants of Scandinavia and Germany still lived in the country. The violence of the times, and especially the invasions of the Norsemen and Huns, compelled the people to live together in walled inclosures, and these became in time cities. Many cities sprang up around monasteries and castles. They were, of course, small in their beginnings and grew slowly. The ruling class did not live in the cities but in the castles.

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Before the time of Karl the cities were ruled by a lord, whether duke, count, or baron. Karl the Great put almost all the cities of his Empire under an officer who was generally called a count. The people of the cities had no voice in their own government. Their lord collected the taxes, appointed officials, kept order, and punished offenders. It is possible that in some cases the people had preserved a mere remnant of their former independence and had a certain right in determining who should hold a few of the offices, but practically it is true that they had no political rights. They were at the mercy of their lords.

The cities in the hands of a lord.

A sort of basis or starting-point for the free commune of later times was the guilds. People who had common interests were brought together and united into a secret organization known as a guild. Each occupation had a separate guild, that worked at first only for its own interests; but later some of them united and supported the common cause.

Guilds.

The principal cause of the communal revolt of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was the revival of industry and commerce, and the consequent increase of wealth. It was the merchants who led in the movement, a proof of which is that the revolt spread along the routes of commerce and travel. During the tenth century efforts were made to put an end to private wars and to secure peace. Feudalism became more fixed in its customs and a certain degree of order prevailed, to which fact the revival of commerce is in large measure due. There was no revolt against the burdens imposed upon the cities by their lords until there grew up a rich merchant class, a sort of aristocracy of wealth, commanding resources and means of carrying on the struggle with the lord, but when this class became numerous the cities rebelled against the heavy taxes levied on them, and in the struggle that followed were able to secure not only

Revival of industry and commerce.

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freedom from this unjust taxation but also in many cases the right of governing themselves.

Cities in southern France.

In France this movement of revolt had its first faint beginnings in the tenth century, and reached its height about the years 1050–1200. It is probable that the cities in southern France were the first to enjoy large political liberties and rights, but the charters which confirmed these rights did not antedate those of the cities in the north. Early in the eleventh century there were many cities in Provence and Languedoc which were essentially free communes, though they did not receive their charters for more than one hundred years after that time. In the north, up to the year 1100, there were perhaps not more than a half dozen cities that had secured the title of commune, but in the years between 1100 and 1135 a large number of them had obtained charters—Noyon, Valenciennes, Amiens, Corbie, Soissons, Bruges, Lille, St. Omer, Ghent, Liège, and others. Then the movement quickly became popular and spread rapidly.

Opposition to the communes.

Many of the cities met with great resistance in their efforts to free themselves from their masters. It is only natural that the lords of the cities should have opposed anything which threatened to diminish their power and income. The clergy were generally exceedingly hostile to the movement. Commune was declared by them to be "a new and detestable word." "Agreements made with them are null and binding on no one because they are contrary to the canon law and to the decisions of the holy fathers." "They were introducing diabolical usages which tended to overthrow the jurisdiction of the Church." Several Church councils legislated against them. The nobility also were at first, for the most part, hostile to the formation of the communes and endeavored to put them down by force. Some of them, however, were glad enough to part with their prerogatives for money and made the cities pay well for their

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privileges. Still others, at least toward the end of the movement, were wise enough to see that a prosperous commune was of far more value than a poor dependent city, and therefore hastened the process by offering charters to those cities which had not already secured them, in some cases even forcing the cities to buy them. The kings of France followed no fixed policy in the matter but were guided in each particular case by their own royal interests. For instance, in 1112 Louis VI. protected the commune of Amiens and destroyed that of Laon. His successors, however, saw that the commune might be used against the nobles, and were therefore glad to confirm charters whenever they were appealed to.

Policy of the French kings.

Although many of the cities got their charters in a peaceable way, some of them acquired them only by force of arms. Others, indeed, were unable to get a charter even in this way, being successfully resisted by their lord and kept in subjection. Montpellier (1142), Toulouse (1188), Béziers (1167), Laon (1106–12), Lille, Ghent, Amiens, and many others were compelled to fight hard for their charters. Vézelay revolted five times and attempted to get a charter, but was unsuccessful every time. Château Neuf, near Tours, appealed to arms a dozen times, but never succeeded in acquiring a charter. Orleans was so thoroughly chastised by Louis VII. for her attempt in 1137, that she never again tried it.

Charters acquired by force.

The charters were far more easily purchased with money than acquired by revolt. The nobles were always in need of money, and since the cities were rich, the common way of obtaining a charter was by purchase. Even after a charter had been secured it was not uncommon for a commune to extend its power and prerogatives and ask for a new charter in confirmation of its new privileges. The cities in England, it may be said, always got their charters

Charters acquired by purchase.

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by purchase, the movement there never taking on the character of a revolt. In Germany the cities were not allowed any political liberties during the reign of the Hohenstaufen, although they secured a great many restrictions upon the arbitrary taxation of their lords; but in, or after, the interregnum, when the imperial power was either destroyed or greatly weakened, they were able to emancipate themselves entirely and secure their complete political independence.

It was only in the south and in the west of France that the cities were successful in establishing themselves as communes. In the central part, which was more directly under the control of the king, there were almost no communes. The king was so near to them that he was able to check their growth, or, at least, to keep them in partial dependence. Orleans and Paris never became communes. All such cities have been called "villes de bourgeoisie." This distinction into two classes is arbitrary, because it is often impossible to distinguish villes from communes. They both received charters. The charters of the villes, however, simply guaranteed that the people of the city should not be arbitrarily taxed or should have certain commercial or other privileges. Generally these cities were not allowed to rule themselves or to elect their officers. They were subject to their king or lord and were ruled by the officers whom he sent to them. In some of these "villes de bourgeoisie," however, there was a certain amount of political autonomy, and the people had a voice in the election of some of their officers. Since the king's officers were always present, these villes were always peaceable. The mob was kept in check, and the finances of the city were well managed and kept in good condition. Louis VII. gave a charter of the above kind to the little ville Lorris, which was so well adapted to the object for which it was intended that it was afterward introduced into more than eighty villes in

No communes in central France.

The so called villes de bourgeoisie.

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the central part of France. The charter of Beaumont-en-Argonne was used in more than three hundred villes in the northeast, especially in the archbishopric of Rheims, the duchies of Luxemburg and Lorraine, and the county of Chiny. This charter was very like that of the commune. It provided for the election by the people of the ville of a mayor and a kind of Board of Commissioners, who administered the government, but rendered an account of their work to their lord, the archbishop of Rheims. They even had the right of administering justice to a certain extent, the Archbishop reserving for his court only the more important cases. The distinction between such villes and the communes would perhaps be made clear by saying that the communes became feudal individuals while the villes remained subject to feudal dues without ever becoming feudal individuals and having vassals under them.

The number of these villes was greatly increased from the eleventh century on, by the founding of many new towns. In order to improve their estates or to increase their incomes the lords often established new settlements which grew into towns or cities. The common name for all such was "ville neuve," or new town. In order to secure inhabitants for these, large inducements had to be made. The lord generally published a charter and made it known for many miles around that he intended to establish such a new town, and offered special rights and privileges to all who would come and settle there. The ground was generally parcelled out among those who came, a market established, and the fullest protection guaranteed. Such places were generally granted the right of asylum, so that all criminals who fled there, except thieves and murderers, were free from punishment or vengeance. Serfs who ran away and lived here for a year and a day without being claimed by their masters were then regarded as free men.

New towns established.

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From this peculiar privilege the common name for such towns came to be "places of safety" (salvitates). These and other privileges made such towns very popular and succeeded in bringing many people within their walls. These villes were ruled always by the lord who founded them. Their inhabitants never gained their political independence and did not elect their officials. The charters secured for them only commercial or financial advantages, such as freedom from many of the most burdensome feudal dues.

Process of acquiring a charter.

It was generally a guild of merchants that began the agitation to secure a charter for a commune. When it was determined to resist the lord, all the members took an oath of fidelity, and the people of the town were also asked to swear that they would support the common cause. Their desires were then formulated, and if they were successful their requests were granted and confirmed by a written document called a charter. The charters which have been preserved to us vary in size and character. Generally they contain only the new points at issue between the city and its lord. The old established customs and relations were not mentioned because, since they were not in question, it was not considered necessary to do so. While some cities secured charters which dealt only with their particular needs, and hence were local and special, many others demanded that their lord give them the same charter which was in force in some other town. The charter of Soissons, for example, was introduced into nearly all the communes of the duchy of Burgundy.

The commune a feudal individual.

The town which thus received a charter was thereby fitted into the feudal system just as if it were an individual. The commune then owed the regular feudal duties to its lord, and might in its turn become a feudal lord and have vassals of its own. The lord promised, above all, to protect the commune in all its rights and against all violence

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of whatever kind, and the commune, through its elective officers, did homage to its lord and took the oath of fealty to him. The charter generally limited and fixed the amount of feudal dues which the lord might demand. He no longer had the right to demand money when he chose, but generally had to content himself with the payment of a fixed sum each year. The feudal rights of the lord were not destroyed, but merely curtailed and made definite. The commune owed military service to its lord. In accordance with the ideas and customs of the times every commune had the right of private war, and if it were offended or injured by some commune or by some lord, whether clerical or lay, might arm its troops, secure allies, and attack the offender. The intercommunal feuds and wars added much to the violence of the times. On the other hand, it often happened that many communes leagued together to protect their common interests, especially their commerce, and so did much to preserve the peace. Such were the leagues of the Hansa, of the Rhine, and of Suabia.

Limitation of communal membership.

The power in the commune was not generally vested in the whole body of its inhabitants, though there were a few cities, Lyon, Rouen, and some others, in which all inhabitants were members of the commune and had political rights. It was more often the case that only the members of one or more guilds exercised political rights. Ordinarily, however, the commune was not a republic, but a kind of oligarchy or aristocracy. As the commune developed in wealth and power, and membership in it increased in value, it became more and more difficult to enter it, and the aristocratic or oligarchic character of the ruling body became more pronounced.

The internal organization of the communes was not the same in all places. Almost everyone that did not accept a

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ready-made charter created offices to suit itself. The principal officials bore different names in the different communes. They were in some cities called consuls; in others there were a mayor and jurati, or men under oath to serve the commune in the best way possible. In the north of France they were called échevins or aldermen. Their numbers also differed. Sometimes there were two, sometimes there were even twenty-four of them. Associated with these was a council differing in size from one city to another. Generally the method of election was very complex. It was not uncommon for the members of the commune to be divided into classes, generally according to their occupations, each with the right to elect a certain number of consuls. The bitter class feeling in the commune, however, often made it impossible for the people to agree on their officials, and especially in the south of France it became common to call in a foreigner who was made absolute master or podestà of the city. These officials, by whatever name they were called, exercised power in the city, both legislative and executive, and, within certain limitations, judicial. The management of the finances of the city was also in their hands. In order to attend to all these duties they had to have the service of a large number of helpers, such as tax-collectors, policemen, sheriffs, and the like.

Officials.

Violence and mismanagement in the communes.

The communes had gained their liberty but did not know how to preserve it. Their members were invariably divided into factions, and feuds and street brawls were common. There were also social troubles coupled with the political difficulties. The lower orders were often ranged against the higher, the poor against the rich. The magistrates of the cities were generally hard masters, and those outside the ruling guilds were unmercifully imposed upon. This led to the formation of guilds among those who in the ear-

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lier time had been without such organizations. They organized themselves for opposition, and sometimes succeeded in acquiring membership in the commune. Even if they failed to do this, they filled the city with violence. Peace had to be restored by someone from without, generally the king. Another cause of internal trouble was the bad administration of the finances of the city. The officials of the commune were often guilty of fraud and peculation, and it was impossible to bring such offenders to justice, because they refused to render any account of their doings to the people. They claimed that they had done their duty when they had made their reports to each other. It is not surprising, therefore, that the cities often became bankrupt. The expenses of the communes, together with large sums that were taken from the treasury in a fraudulent way, far exceeded the regular income.

These two things, the insolvency of the communes and their lawlessness, were the real cause of their destruction. The kings of France were now following steadily the policy of collecting all power into their own hands, and the process of centralization was becoming more and more rapid. The nobles were gradually yielding to the kings, and the communes were made the object of a policy which, in the end, was sure to break them down. The officials of the king's treasury interfered in the administration of the finances of the communes and punished all maladministration by seizing the charter of the commune and declaring it forfeited. The judicial jurisdiction of the communes was limited in every way. The parlement, which exercised the judicial power in France, tried to destroy the local tribunals by increasing the number of cases which could be settled only by the king or by his tribunal. The policy of parlement and sovereign was to make the king's justice prevalent throughout the land. The central authority also

The king and the communes.

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increased the taxes of the communes. As the king's power grew he interfered more and more in the affairs of the communes. He controlled their elections and inspected their magistrates; he imposed heavy fines on all those communes which refused him obedience or offended him in the slightest way; he placed all kinds of burdens on them in order to break them down, and when the day of reckoning came he had them in his power. He forced them to give up their charters and all that these stood for, their political independence and their privileges. They fell into the king's hands and so increased his power. This policy toward the communes may be said to date from Louis IX. (1227–70). Under Philip IV. (1285–1314) the seizures became frequent; and by the year 1400 the communes had lost all their acquired liberties, sunk back into dependence on the crown, and disappeared.

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CHAPTER XVI

ITALY TO THE INVASION OF CHARLES VIII., 1494

BECAUSE of the different racial elements which were found there, the unification of Italy during the Middle Age was impossible. The people of the peninsula, thoroughly imbued with the Roman civilization, the Greeks of the south, the Germans of Odovaker, the East Goths, the Lombards, the Saracens, and the Normans, all were there; and each fought to obtain the mastery over all Italy. For political honors they had powerful rivals in the Pope and the Emperor, the conflict between whom gave the cities the opportunity to depose the imperial officers and to establish a local independent government similar to that of the communes, described in the preceding chapter. Frederick I. tried to reduce the cities to a position of dependence again, but the Lombard League and the Pope were too strong for him. The battle of Legnano (1176), and the treaty of Constance (1183), gave the cities about all the independence they claimed, and left the Emperor little except his title. After the death of Frederick II. few Emperors tried to wield any authority in Italy.

Why the unification of Italy in the Middle Age was impossible.

The cities acquire constitutions and successfully resist the Emperor.

The cities had thus acquired their liberty, but this was no guaranty for peace and order. They were engaged in constant feuds with each other. Only members of the ruling guilds had a share in the government, and the class distinctions among the inhabitants formed a large disturbing element. The higher and the lower nobility and the rich merchants struggled for authority and disregarded the rights

Feuds inside and outside the cities.

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of the industrial classes. The pride and ambition of the nobles led them into feuds which filled the streets with violence. To put an end to this confusion the cities began to elect a dictator called a podestà (about 1200). The lower orders of society were at the same time striving to win a share in the government. They had organized themselves into guilds and now united in a commune of their own with a "captain of the people" (capitan del popolo) at its head, as a rival of the podestà. War between the parties began. The privileged classes sought the aid of the Emperor and were called Ghibelline, while the common people joined with the Pope and were called Guelf. These civil wars fill the thirteenth century. They ended in the loss of freedom and of the republican constitutions, and the cities fell into the hands of rulers called tyrants.

Podestà.

Ghibelline and Guelf.

The five powers in Italy.

About 1300 the political condition of Italy was somewhat as follows: In Piedmont the old feudal system was still in force; several great barons, among them the counts of Savoy, the ancestors of the present royal house of Italy, were contending for supremacy. In Lombardy the cities were ruled by tyrants. In Milan the family of the Visconti ruled, in Verona the Scaligers, in Padua the Carraresi, in Mantua the Gonzaghi, in Ferrara the Estensi. In Tuscany the cities were in the throes of civil war, but the end was to be the same as in Lombardy. In the states of the Church, the cities were about to break away from papal control. The long residence of the Popes in Avignon (1309–78) permitted the rise of tyrannies in Urbino, Perugia, Rimini, and elsewhere, while Bologna became a republic and Rome tried several political experiments. Naples was the seat of the kingdom of the Angevins, and Sicily had passed into the possession of the Aragonese. Genoa and Venice were independent republics. While the disunion at this time was very great, the five powers which were to divide Italy among

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themselves in the fifteenth century were showing signs of their coming strength. Their history may be briefly traced along these lines:

Genoa. Genoa and Venice owed their greatness to their commerce. For some time Pisa was a strong rival of Genoa in the commerce and control of the western Mediterranean, but in the battle of Meloria (1284), just off Pisa, the Genoese fleet was victorious and the power of Pisa was broken. In 1261 Genoa helped the Greek Emperor regain Constantinople, and received as her reward the monopoly of the trade in the Black Sea, and thus came into conflict with Venice, which by the outcome of the fourth crusade had gained the ascendency in the east. The war between the two cities lasted more than two hundred years, and ended in the total defeat of the Genoese in the battle of Chioggia (1380). After this Genoa declined while Venice became the mistress of the Mediterranean.

Venice. Since 697 Venice had been ruled by a doge (duke) elected by the people. The tendency in the city, however, was toward an oligarchy. Toward the end of the twelfth century the Great Council, consisting of four hundred and eighty members, usurped the right to elect the doge. They associated with him a small council of six, and for all more important matters a council of sixty. In 1297 the oligarchy was completed by the act known as the "Closing of the Great Council," by which this body declared itself to be hereditary. In order to check all popular movements the Great Council established the Council of Ten with unlimited police powers. The bloody work of this Council prevented all uprisings of the people and gave the government of the city a stability and durability which were possessed by no other in Italy. Venice acquired not only the islands of the eastern Mediterranean but also much territory on the mainland of the Balkan peninsula. Then she turned

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her arms toward Italy and conquered Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, and other places. But her expansion on the mainland of Italy during the fifteenth century brought her in turn into conflict with Milan.

Milan.

In Milan the Ghibelline Visconti overcame the family of the Guelf della Torre and entered on a vigorous policy of territorial extension. By the year 1350 the Visconti had conquered and annexed all Lombardy. Gian Galeazzo (1385–1402), the ablest of the family, pushed his conquests so far to the south that he encroached on the territory of Florence. The family of the Visconti died out, however, in 1447, and the power in Lombardy was seized by several condottieri, as the leaders of the mercenary bands were called, who had been in the service of the Visconti and of various cities. Every such leader now improved the opportunity and made himself master of some city. In Milan the power was seized by Francesco Sforza, the most famous of all the condottieri. The city engaged him to lead its troops against the Venetians, and after securing a victory over them he came back to Milan and compelled the people to acknowledge him as their duke (1450).

Florence.

The political history of Florence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is so confused by party struggles that we cannot follow it here in detail. The Blacks and the Whites, the old nobility, the old guilds, the new nobility of wealth, and the guilds of the lower orders, all fought for recognition and power and added to the chaos of the times. Taking advantage of these troubles the Medici rose to power. The Medici were a family of bankers that had grown rich and now used their wealth to advance their political aspirations. They saw that the power was really with the common people, and so threw in their lot with them. In this way the head of the family became the real ruler of the city, although he left the constitution intact. All the officials of

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the city were named by him and obeyed him. Lorenzo the Magnificent (1469–92) finally swept away all the old republican offices and ruled with a Privy Council of Seventy of his own nomination. Under the Medici Florence made war on her small neighbors and became master of all Tuscany.

Rome.

During the residence of the Popes in Avignon Rome suffered from the violent struggles between the rival factions of her nobility as well as from the riotous conduct of the people. The families of the Colonna and the Orsini filled the streets with brawls. An uprising of the people in 1347 made Rienzi Tribune, with full powers to restore order. He drove out the turbulent nobles, but became so puffed up over his success that the people found him intolerable and exiled him. He went to appeal to the Emperor, but was delivered to the Pope, who kept him in prison for some time. The Pope then determined to recover his power in Rome, and sent Rienzi back to the city as his representative (1354). His success was of short duration, however, and he lost his life in an insurrection. Cardinal Albornoz was then sent by the Pope into Italy, and recovered nearly all the towns in the papal state. This led the Pope to take up his residence in Rome again (1377), although a rival Pope was elected, who continued the papal court at Avignon till the schism was healed by the Council of Constance (1417).

The Papacy.

The Papacy, yielding to the character of the times, became more and more a political power. A Pope of the fifteenth century differed very little in character from a temporal ruler. The cities in his territory tried to make themselves independent, and wars were constant. Nicholas V. (1447–55), known as the first of the Renaissance Popes, was a great builder, and patron of learning. He collected manuscripts and founded the Vatican library. He made himself master of the city by sternly putting down the last

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of the uprisings of the populace (1453). Sixtus IV. (1471–84) and Alexander VI. (1492–1503), on the other hand, degraded their high office and covered it with shame. They practised murder almost as a fine art, and their refinements in cruelty and lust have probably never been surpassed. Small wonder that the demand for a reform was daily heard.

Naples.

The Angevins lost Sicily to the Aragonese, but held Naples till 1435, when Alphonso of Aragon made himself master of southern Italy. The rule of the Angevins had ruined the kingdom, however, and although Alphonso was a model prince, a patron of learning and of the arts, he was not able to establish his family in great power. His son Ferdinand (1458–94) succeeded him as ruler of Naples, but his misrule led to the revival of the Angevin claim, which had in the meanwhile reverted to the king of France. Louis XI. was too practical to be drawn into Italian politics, but his incompetent son, Charles VIII. (1483–98), was induced by various considerations to invade Italy. There was, first of all, his claim to Naples; Milan was intriguing against the Aragonese and so urged him to come; Savonarola was calling for a reform in Florence and attacking the rule of the Medici, thus opening an opportunity in Florence. In 1494 he crossed the Alps and began that long and disastrous period of foreign invasion and domination of Italy which was not ended till the present century.

Charles VIII. invades Italy, 1494.

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CHAPTER XVII

FRANCE, 1108–1494; ENGLAND, 1070–1485

France from 1108 till the Hundred Years' War.

THE accession of Louis VI. (1108–37, called the Fat) marks a change in the fortunes of the Capetian House. All but the last years of his life were spent in passing through his kingdom, punishing the rebellious barons, asserting his royal rights, acquiring territory, and, in general, in increasing the prestige of the royal name. He was a stanch champion of the Church, and protected the clergy and their lands from the violence of the barons. He favored the cities, and tried to make travel safe and commerce secure. Suger, the able abbot of St. Denis, was his counsellor and was of great service to him in the difficult work which he had to do. Though he was unable to reduce the great vassals, he was one of the ablest of the Capetian line, and until his increasing corpulence made travel impossible, he spent his time and strength in the personal supervision of the government.

Louis VI., 1108–37.

Louis VII., 1137–80.

He was succeeded by his son, Louis VII. (1137–80), who was simple, credulous, capricious, and over-religious. So long as Suger lived, Louis was well guided, but he made the mistake of going on a crusade and of divorcing his wife, Eleanor, who held all of Aquitaine. He intrigued with the sons of Henry II. of England, but was unable to prevent the English from obtaining a large amount of French territory.

Philip II., 1180–1223.

His son, Philip II., called Augustus (1180–1223), was a politician of rare ability, but treacherous and unscrupulous. He, too, intrigued with the English princes, and thereby se-

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cured the possession of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and other provinces. For some years he waged war on his other great vassals and wrung many concessions from them. The battle of Bouvines was quite as advantageous for him as for Frederick II. of Germany, for whom it was ostensibly fought. Philip took no personal part in the persecution of the Albigenses, but the crown reaped the benefit of it by acquiring their territory.

The royal domain.

The reign of Philip II. was of fundamental importance for the growth of the royal power. The king's domain was more than doubled by him, and his income correspondingly increased. For the first time the king was rich. Philip II. found the old system of administration insufficient. His estates had thus far been managed by a prévot, who, in the name of the king, administered justice, collected the taxes, and preserved order. Although these prévots were the king's officers, there was the tendency, in accordance with the character of the age, for them to look upon their office as a fief, and hence hereditary. To keep them from growing quite away from him, and also to get the best returns from his estates, Philip II. created a new officer, the baillie. He was put above the prévots, several of whom were generally in his bailiwick. He was required to hold court every month for the rendering of justice and to make a full report of his doings to the king. He was especially entrusted with collecting all the money possible for the king and delivering it at Paris. The reign of Philip II. had resulted in two most important things—the great extension of the royal power and the better administration of the royal affairs. The hereditary character of the crown seemed so well established in his reign that he did not think it necessary to secure the election of his son, taking it for granted that the crown would pass on to him.

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Louis VIII., 1223–26.

Although Louis VIII. (1223–26) was thirty-six years old when his father died, he had never had any share in the government or any independent income. He followed his father's policy in all respects, except that he gave to each of his sons the government and income of a certain territory, which was called an appanage. While this made the position of the princes more dignified, it tended to separate lands from the crown at a time when everything possible should have been done to consolidate the royal possessions.

Louis IX., the Saint, 1226–70.

For ten years after the accession of Louis IX. (1226–70), his mother, Blanche of Castile, was regent. Imperious and autocratic, she ruled with a strong hand; and although conspired against by almost all the great vassals, she was able to add to the royal power. Under her training Louis became the most perfect Christian ruler of his day. Few men have ever taken Christianity so seriously and followed its dictates, even against their own interests, so closely as he. His religious conscience was absolute master of him. He refused to extend his boundaries at the expense of his neighbors, although many opportunities for doing so offered themselves. He even restored to England certain territories which he thought had been unjustly seized. He was deeply distressed by the enmity between the Emperor and the Pope, and tried to act as peacemaker between them. His reputation for justice made him the arbiter of Europe, and the Church expressed her approval of his character by declaring him a saint.

Reforms.

The reign of Louis IX. is important for various reasons. He increased the royal domain by the acquisition of several large provinces. Up to this time more than eighty of his subjects had had the right to coin money, and the money coined in a province was the only legal tender there. Louis made the royal money legal tender throughout France, and issued stringent laws against counterfeiting. He reformed

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the office of baillie by prescribing that every baillie should take an oath to administer his office faithfully and justly, and to preserve local liberties as well as the rights of the king; that he should not receive any money or gift from the people in his bailiwick, nor engage in any other business, nor have any interest in his bailiwick except to serve the king; that he should not marry anyone from his district, or surround himself with his relatives, or give them any office under him. Every baillie was ordered to hold court in person, regularly, and in the appointed places, and to make reports to the king of all his doings; and after being removed from his office, was to remain in the province for forty days, in order that the opportunity might be given to prefer charges against him.

Around the person of the king there were a large number of people of different rank, who formed his court. The highest in rank of these were his council. Up to this time all this court had helped him in the administration of the affairs of government. Louis IX. introduced the principle of division of labor by dividing this council into three groups and assigning to each a particular kind of work. These divisions were the council proper, the officers of the treasury, and the parlement. The council retained the executive functions of the government. The treasury officials had charge of the collection and disbursement of all the moneys of the king, while the parlement became the highest judicial body in the realm. Previous to this time the administration of justice had been made very difficult because the king was constantly travelling from one part of the kingdom to another. And since his council accompanied him, and all cases must be tried in, or near, his presence, all the parties to a case were compelled to follow him about; and often several weeks, or even months, would elapse before a case might come to trial. To remedy

The council divided into three groups.

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this, Louis established the parlement in Paris and gave it a fixed place of meeting.

The parlement.

The jurisdiction of the parlement was also extended. The revival of the study of Roman law brought out the imperial principle that the king is the source of all justice. The theory arose that the jurisdiction of the nobles was a fief held of the king. It followed as a matter of course that every one should have the right of appealing to the king in case he were not satisfied with the result of his trial, and also that the king might call before his court any case that he might wish. For various reasons the king wished to make the number of these "royal cases" as large as possible and so interfered more and more in the baronial courts, and brought all the important cases before his own judges. Louis forbade the trial by duel and put in its stead the appeal to a higher court. The parlement, therefore, became the court of appeal over all the baronial courts, and the king's justice became superior to all baronial justice.

Louis IX. and the clergy.

While Louis was truly religious in accordance with the ideas of his age, and defended the Church against all violence and injustice, he nevertheless guarded his royal prerogatives against clerical encroachments. He compelled the Church to contribute its part toward the support of the government by the payment of tithes and other taxes. He limited, to a certain extent, the judicial power of the bishops, and subjected a part of the clergy to the civil law. He greatly favored the mendicant orders at the expense of the clergy, using them as ambassadors, as missi dominici, and in many of his highest offices.

Philip III., 1270–85. Favorites at the court.

With the accession of Philip III. (1270–85) favorites make their appearance at the French court, behind whom the king hides so successfully as to conceal his real character. These favorites were generally of the common people, capable, ambitious, and trained in the Roman law, from

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which fact they were called légistes. They were generally hated by the nobility, who regarded them in the light of usurpers. Philip III. was drawn into a war with some of the kingdoms in Spain, which led to his acquisition of Navarre. He also added to the royal domain several other important territories in the south of France. He punished his rebellious vassals with great severity, and compelled the Church to pay well for the privilege of receiving legacies. In order to secure immunity from the laws of the land, men took the tonsure and were called clergymen, who engaged in business or led a wandering or vagabond sort of life, many of them being married, and living in all respects as laymen. These he deprived of the protection of the Church law, and subjected to taxation and other state control.

Philip IV., 1285–1314.

Under the rule of Philip IV. (1285–1314), called the Handsome, France became the leading power in Europe. His favorites furnished him with his policy, and he strove to imitate Justinian. The influence of the Roman law at his court may be seen from the fact that a large number of great questions were settled by the form of trial. Philip IV. chose the most opportune times of interfering in the affairs of the provinces which were on the eastern frontier, and owed allegiance to the German Emperor. Since the Emperors were all weak, he was able to extend his boundaries considerably at the expense of the Empire.

The Papacy removed to Avignon.

The commanding position of Philip IV. in Europe is shown by the removal of the Papacy to Avignon, and the control which he exercised over the Popes. Clement V., in order to escape from condemning his predecessor, Boniface VIII., delivered the Order of the Templars into the king's hands. Heavy charges were trumped up against it, but the real motive of the king was to secure possession of its vast wealth.

Destruction of the Templars.

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Improvements in the government.

In the time of Philip IV. order was introduced into the government by the creation of certain new offices, the functions of which were prescribed. The various sorts of work in the government were differentiated and each sort assigned to a particular set of officials. For the personal service of the king there was a court called at that time the king's "Hôtel;" the chamberlain, the chaplain, and those who had control of the guard and the troops were the most important persons of the Hôtel. The "chancellerie" had charge of all public affairs. By means of it all intercourse between the king and his people was conducted. Within the chancellerie there was a college of notaries who drew up all public or state documents. The heads of this college were called "clercs du secret," or private secretaries of the king, because they were acquainted with the secrets of the king and his council. The third chief division in the government was called the king's Council, the members of which had to take a special oath to the king. They were his secret counsellors and deliberated with him all important questions. The States-general[1] were not yet an organic part of the government. The attendance upon these, however, had in the process of time come to be limited to the more powerful nobles and to the abbots and bishops. It had been customary for the king to summon them to obtain their advice whenever the special situation demanded. In 1302, when the trouble with the Pope was assuming large proportions, the king felt that he must know whether he would have the support of all his people if he proceeded to extreme measures against the Papacy. He therefore summoned the States-general and at the same time called on the cities each to send two or three representatives to attend

The States-general.

[1] It should be noted that "States-general" correspond to the Parliament in England, while in France the name Parlement was given to the body of the king's judges. The Parlement in France is a judicial body; in England the Parliament is a legislative body.

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the meeting. The king laid before them his plans and asked for their judgment. After some deliberation, the body signified its approval and promised him the support of the whole people. In 1308 a similar meeting of the same body was held to discuss the charges against the Templars. More than two hundred cities sent their representatives and again the States-general did nothing but say yes to the king's proposals. It is characteristic of the part which the cities played in this proceeding that they were "asked by the king to send deputies to hear, receive, approve, and do all that might be commanded them by the king." Again in 1314 the war with Flanders was about to be renewed and the king's treasury was empty. The king, therefore, summoned the States-general and told them what he wanted. The States-general did nothing but express their submission to the will of the king. This was the much written about entrance of the Third Estate into the political history of France. French historians never tire of exalting its importance. But as a matter of fact, the influence of the Third Estate was, and remained, practically nothing, till the time of the French Revolution. It had no such history and development as the House of Commons in England. In France the authority of the king prevailed, and the Third Estate was simply permitted to say yes when it was commanded to do so.

The parlement and the king's justice.

The growth of the parlement during this reign was remarkable. Ordinary cases arising on the royal domain were tried before it, and the number of appeals from all parts of the kingdom greatly increased. The absolute supremacy of the king's court and the king's justice over all baronial courts and baronial justice was more than ever recognized. The right of appeal was made use of to such an extent that the king was compelled to empower his baillies to decide many cases in order to prevent the par-

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lement from being overwhelmed with work. By the establishment and development of the parlement, feudalism received a heavy blow.

As the government grew more thoroughly organized, it became much more expensive. Louis IX. had always had enough income to support the government. Philip IV. was always in debt. He made the most strenuous efforts to raise money, but even by taxes, seizures, aids, forced loans, confiscations, persecutions of the Jews, taxation of all the foreign merchants in France, taxation of the Church, the seizure of the possessions of the Templars, and many other questionable means, was not able to keep his treasury full.

Taxation.

Philip IV. was succeeded by his three sons in turn; Louis X. (1314–16), Philip V., called the Long (1316–22), and Charles IV. (1322–28). They were not able to preserve the monarchy in that state to which their predecessors had brought it. There was a general reaction on the part of the nobles against the absolutism of Philip IV., and they were able to force from these kings many provincial charters which restored and safeguarded local feudal rights. Louis X. especially made a large number of such concessions.

Philip V. labored hard to strengthen the government and centralize the power. He met, however, with the most bitter opposition from his barons. All three brothers died without male heirs, but since Philip V., in order to justify his seizure of the crown, had prevailed on the Council to declare that the crown could not pass by the female line, the throne was vacant. The nearest male heir was Philip of Valois, a cousin of the dead king. Edward III. of England also laid claim to the crown on the ground that he, being a nephew of the late king Charles IV., was the nearest male heir by the female line. The claims of Ed-

End of the direct Capetian line, accession of the House of Valois, 1328.

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ward were rejected and Philip of Valois made king. Edward soon gave up all pretensions to the throne, came to Amiens and did homage to Philip VI. for his feudal holdings. In 1330 and again in 1331 he acknowledged himself without any reserve as the feudal subject of the king of France.

England, 1070, to the Hundred Years' Wars.

Norman genius showed itself in the government of William the Conqueror. The name of what was formerly called the Witenagemot, composed of all who held land directly from the king, was gradually changed to Great Council. Both his Norman and his English subjects were troublesome, but he used the one to keep the other in check. In the large towns he built fortresses which he garrisoned with Norman troops. He kept the English militia ready for service. He had made an exact list of the possessions and holdings of all his subjects, which was called the Domesday Book, and on the basis of which he levied and collected his taxes with great regularity and exactness. His severity in punishing all offences, his heavy taxes, and his devastation of a large territory to make a game preserve caused him to be hated by his people, who did not understand the great services he was rendering England.

William the Conqueror.

The Domesday Book.

William II., 1087-1100.

The reign of William Rufus (1087–1100), the second son of William the Conqueror, was violent and oppressive in the extreme. He laid heavy financial burdens on the people, and they were not sorry when he met his death while hunting in the New Forest. The eldest son of William, count Robert, had received the duchy of Normandy, but had pawned it in order to go on the first crusade. The third son, Henry, was made king of England (1100–35). Fearing that his title to the crown was not good, and that Robert would probably oppose him, he tried to propitiate the people in every possible way. He published a charter of liberties which contained concessions to the Church,

Henry I., 1100–35, publishes a charter of liberties.

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the vassals, and the nation at large, and assured all classes that they would no longer be subjected to the wrongs and exactions which they had suffered from his brother.

Henry increased his popularity by marrying the daughter of the king of Scotland, Matilda, a descendant from the old English line of kings. The wisdom of his conduct became apparent when Robert returned from the crusade and tried to get possession of England. The people stood faithfully by Henry. Robert was taken prisoner in battle, and Henry seized Normandy also. Henry was the first English king to grant charters to towns, thus securing them against unjust interference from their feudal lords, as well as from excessive taxes and tolls. Henry established the institution known as the curia regis, which had control of the king's finances, and tried all cases in which the king's tenants-in-chief were concerned. Henry obtained an oath from his barons that they would accept his daughter Matilda as ruler, but at his death his nephew, Stephen of Blois (1135–54), came to London and secured his own election. War ensued between Stephen and Matilda, and England suffered much from it till 1153, when it was agreed that Stephen should remain king, but should be succeeded by Henry, the son of Matilda.

The curia regis.

Stephen of Blois, 1135–54.

Henry II. (1154–89) was strong, active, and able, and had but one thought, namely, to make himself the real master of England. Both the nobility and the Church were in his way, and his reign is famous for his struggles with those powers.

Henry II., 1154–89.

For the purposes of consultation, he called the Great Council together often, and compelled many of the small feudal holders to attend it. The curia regis was also strengthened and its work of rendering justice emphasized. In 1166 he called a meeting of the Great Council at Clarendon and published a set of decrees called the Assize of

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Assize of Clarendon, 1166.

Clarendon. By its terms the old custom of compurgation was prohibited, and a new system was introduced. Twelve men in every county and four men from each township in it were to form a board for the purpose of deciding who should be brought to trial—the work of our grand jury. Henry revived the custom of sending out itinerant justices, who by rendering strict justice in the king's name brought the manorial and county courts into disfavor. In 1170 Henry inquired into the way in which the various barons who held the office of sheriff were performing their duties, and as the result of the inquiry turned nearly all out and replaced them by men of lower birth, who served from this time on as a check on the higher nobility. Henry commuted the military service which his barons owed him to the payment of a sum of money (scutage), with which he hired mercenaries. He also reorganized the militia, and required all the people to come at his call, equipped at their own expense and ready to fight.

The Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164.

The clergy were opposed to Henry's ideas of judicial reform because he meant to bring them also under his own jurisdiction. In 1164 he published the Constitutions of Clarendon, the purpose of which was to destroy the judicial independence of the clergy. "Every election of bishop or abbot was to take place before royal officers, in the king's chapel, and with the king's assent. The prelate-elect was bound to do homage to the king for his lands before consecration and to hold his lands as a barony from the king subject to all feudal burdens of taxation and attendance in the king's court. No bishop might leave the realm without the royal permission. No tenant in chief or royal servant might be excommunicated, or their land placed under interdict, but by the king's assent. What was new was the legislation respecting ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The king's court was to decide whether a suit between clerk

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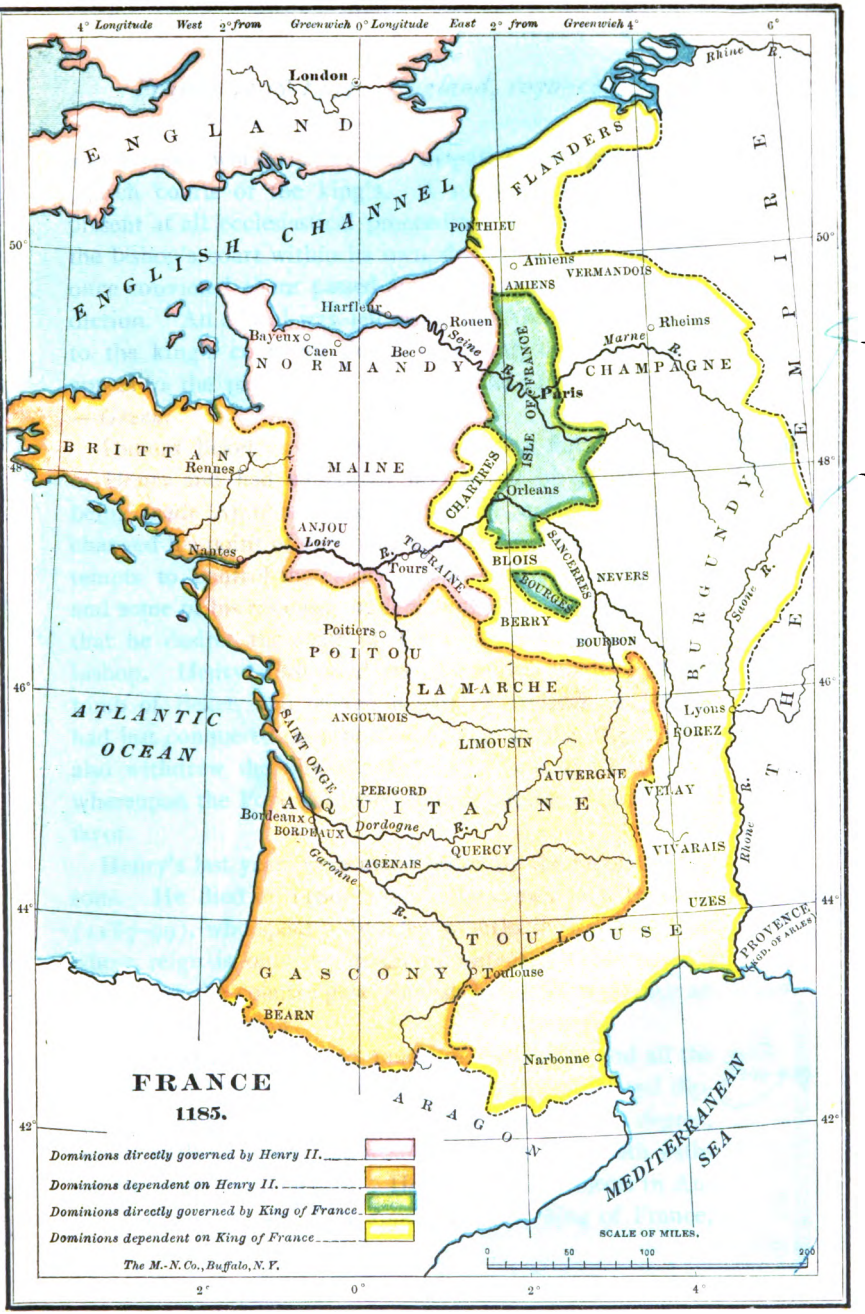

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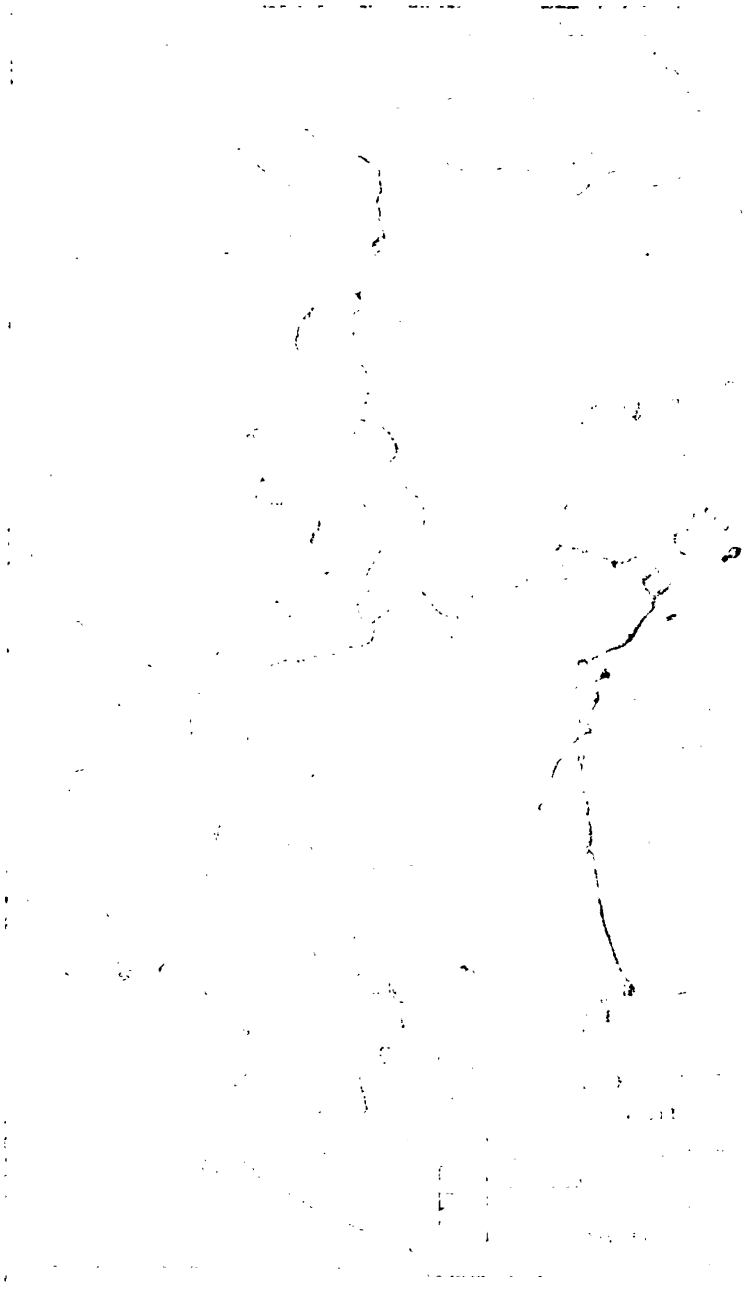

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and laymen whose nature was disputed belonged to the church courts or the king's. A royal officer was to be present at all ecclesiastical proceedings in order to confine the bishop's court within its own due limits, and the clerk once convicted there passed at once under the civil jurisdiction. An appeal was left from the Archbishop's court to the king's court for defect of justice, but none might appeal to the papal court save with the king's consent." —*Green.*

Thomas Beket as chancellor had been a faithful servant of Henry and had supported him in all his efforts. On being made Archbishop of Canterbury, however, Thomas changed his point of view and opposed the king in his attempts to control the clergy. The king was embittered; and some of his followers understanding his words to mean that he desired the death of Thomas, murdered the Archbishop. Henry disavowed the deed, did penance at the tomb of Beket, and offered a part of Ireland, which he had just conquered, as a peace offering to the Pope. He also withdrew the obnoxious Constitutions of Clarendon, whereupon the Pope pardoned him and restored him to his favor.

Thomas Beket

Henry's last years were made bitter by the revolts of his sons. He died in 1189, leaving the crown to Richard I. (1189–99), who spent only a few months in England, and whose reign is only negatively important, in that his absence from the country gave English local independence an opportunity to grow.

Richard I., 1189–99.

John (1199–1216) had much of the ability and all the vices of the Angevin family. He had great political and diplomatic insight, but was unscrupulous to the last degree, utterly without honor, and would break his royal oath without the least compunction. He refused his subjects in Angoulême justice, and they appealed to the king of France,

John, 1199–1216.

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who summoned John to appear before him. John, however, disregarded the summons, and Philip II. deposed him and overran a large part of his French provinces. The murder of his nephew, Arthur, has made John infamous. John refused to accept Stephen Langton, who had been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by Innocent III. Innocent put England under the interdict and excommunicated John, and finally (1212) even deposed him and offered his crown to the king of France, and at the same time John's violence and injustice to his people led them to revolt against him. Being powerless, John made peace with the Pope and received his crown from him as a fief. The struggle with his barons continued until 1215, when they compelled him to grant the Magna Charta, in which he promised to observe the ancient laws and customs, to abate all wrongs, and to require only the legal feudal dues. The Church was to have her liberties restored; the barons and the people were to be subject to no violence. The king agreed neither to pass nor to execute any judgment upon anyone till he had been tried by his peers. After securing this charter of their liberties, the barons disbanded. John then broke his oath and became more violent than ever toward his subjects, whereupon the barons offered the crown to Louis, the son of Philip II. Louis invaded England with some success, but at the death of John the English turned to his son, Henry III., then only nine years old, and Louis was compelled to return to France.

The Magna Charta, 1215.

Henry III., 1216-72.

Henry III. (1216–72) was as unscrupulous as his father had been. He never refused to take any oath demanded of him, but broke it at the first opportunity. He vied with the Pope in his demands for money. His son Edmund was expected to pay well for the crown of Sicily, and Richard of Cornwall was buying the crown of the Empire. In 1257 the crops were a total failure, but the Pope demanded one-

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third of the income of the year. Being unable to bear these burdens longer, the barons came armed to Oxford and compelled the king to make certain concessions (1258). When the king refused to keep his word, the barons, under the leadership of Simon de Montfort, made war on him. In 1265 Simon called a meeting of the Great Council, or Parliament, as it was now called, in which, besides the barons, two citizens from certain towns also sat. Simon had summoned them to be present in order that they might give advice in regard to the taxes which could be levied on the towns. This is the first appearance of commoners in the Parliament and is the beginning of the House of Commons. The civil war ended with the death of Simon and the withdrawal of Henry from the kingdom, all authority being placed in the hands of Prince Edward.

Commoners in the Parliament, 1265.

The reign of Edward I. was marked by the conquest of Wales (1284) and of Scotland (1305), although Scotland renewed the war, and in 1314, by the battle of Bannockburn, recovered her independence. His legislation was for the most part good, and tended to increase the power of the crown. Edward II. (1307–27) was controlled by favorites, and his reign was in every respect a failure. His wife and her paramour, Roger Mortimer, made war on him, and in 1327 the people joined them and deposed him. He was murdered a short time afterward in prison, and Edward III. became king under the regency of Mortimer.

Edward I., 1272–1307.

Edward II., 1307–27.

During the Hundred Years' War England was ruled in turn by Edward III. (1327–77), Richard II. (1377–99), Henry IV. (1399–1412), Henry V. (1413–22), and Henry VI. (1422–61). During the same period the rulers of France were Philip VI. (1328–50), John (1350–64), Charles V. (1364–80), Charles VI. (1380–1422), Charles VII. (1422–61).

The Hundred Years' War.

The deeper questions at issue in the Hundred Years' War

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The questions at issue.

were whether Scotland should remain independent, and whether the king of France should control all of France, or whether all of Scotland and France should be subjected to the king of England. It had come to be the established purpose of England to reduce Scotland to subjection, and she already held so large a part of France as to be able to prevent the unification of that country. Scotland, on the other hand, was determined to be and remain free, and the possession of all the French soil had come to be the most important question that confronted the king of France. The struggle between England and France was sure to come, and it could end in but one of two ways: either the king of England must conquer the whole country and displace the French king, or the king of France must drive out the English, and reconquer all that territory which the topography of the country and the similarity in language and customs had marked out as a legitimate object of his ambition.

Origin of the war.

The Hundred Years' War began in Scotland. In 1331 Edward Balliol laid claim to the crown of Scotland, and asked help of Edward III. David Bruce, the other claimant, fled to France. Philip VI. was trying to extend his authority over the Low Countries, and Edward III. received some of their political refugees. When Edward III. went to Flanders (1338) the people demanded that he assume the title of king of France; and although he had given up all claim to the title, he saw the advantages to be derived from it, and as a kind of war measure, in 1340 he declared himself its possessor. In the same year the English fleet destroyed the French fleet, but otherwise little fighting was done till 1346, when Edward won the battle

Crécy, 1346.

of Crécy, and the next year took Calais. A truce was then made, which was kept till 1355. In that year Prince Edward, known as the Black Prince, ravaged a large part of southern France. Near Poitiers his force of eight thou-

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sand men was attacked by an army of about fifty thousand men, but he was victorious, and even captured king John and took him to England. In 1359 Edward made another invasion of southern France, but found there such suffering and ruin, as the result of his raid of a few years before, that he was conscience smitten, and offered to make peace. By the terms of the treaty of Brétigny, Edward resigned his claim to the French crown and received several large provinces from France. The Black Prince was sent to govern Aquitaine, but by his attempt to levy a hearth tax, caused an uprising of the people. For a few years the English harried many parts of France, but the French refused to engage in a battle.

Poitiers, 1356.

The peace of Brétigny, 1360.

The war practically ceased till the accession of Henry V. (1413–22). His father, Henry IV., had deposed Richard II. and seized the crown. Henry V. felt that his claim to the crown was not secure, and he hoped to make himself popular by a successful war in France. He renewed his claim to the French crown and invaded France, but at Harfleur lost two-thirds of his troops by disease. However, with an army of about fifteen thousand men, he met and defeated fifty thousand French near Agincourt (1415). Charles VI. was imbecile, and the country divided between two parties, the one under the duke of Burgundy, the other under the count of Armagnac. The feud between them was so bitter that the Burgundians went over to the English. By the treaty of Troyes (1420) Henry V. was acknowledged regent of France, and was to be recognized as king at the death of Charles VI.

Henry V., 1413–22, renews the war.

Agincourt, 1415.

In 1422 both kings died. Henry VI., though only a child of nine months, was acknowledged in England and in all the northern part of France, and the duke of Bedford was made regent. Bedford instituted excellent reforms and governed France well. Charles VII., the Dau-

Henry VI. of England king of both countries.

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phin, was recognized south of the Loire. Bedford made war on him, and it seemed for a time that the English must gain possession of all of France. Some of the French nobles, however, especially the duke of Burgundy, were alienated from the English cause, and at the same time help came from an unexpected quarter. Bedford was besieging Orleans (1428) with every prospect of success.

Jeanne d'Arc.

Jeanne d'Arc, a peasant girl, seventeen years old, believed herself to have received a commission from God to lead her king, Charles VII., to Rheims, secure his coronation, and drive out the English. She was not the only woman in France who thought herself appointed for this high work. In those times of excitement and national depression other women came forward with about the same claims. Jeanne was the only one fortunate and capable enough to get a hearing. No one at first had any confidence in her, but since there was no other help possible, she was taken before the young king, who determined to give her a chance to test her divine calling. She was given command of the army, but only a part of her orders were obeyed, because some of the things which she commanded were manifestly impossible. The real commanders of the army made good use of her presence to fire the enthusiasm of the troops to the highest pitch. She led the attack on the English before Orléans, and was successful in breaking up the siege of the city. The tide turned, and everyone was wild with joy and enthusiasm. The belief in her miraculous mission made the army irresistible. The English were driven back, town after town was taken by the French, and Charles VII. was soon crowned at Rheims (1429). Jeanne continued the struggle, but was taken prisoner by the Burgundians and sold to the English. She was carried to Rouen, where, after a long trial, she was condemned to death on a mixed charge of sorcery, heresy,

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apostasy, and other crimes, which only the Middle Age could invent. Her youth, her simplicity, her nobleness availed nothing; she was burned at the stake (May, 1431).

But even dead she was still a power in France. Her name gave an impetus and courage to her countrymen which was destined to result in driving out the English entirely. Bedford found the current in France setting stronger and stronger against the English. At his death (1435) the duke of Burgundy deserted the English cause and became the subject of Charles VII. For some years the war was continued, but at length (1454) the English had been driven out of every place in France except Calais. The Hundred Years' War was over. The final result of it was the unification of France. By it both England and France had been profoundly influenced, and at its close they were ready to enter upon a new period of their development.

The English driven out, 1454.

The constitutional changes in England during the Hundred Years' War were important. In 1322 Edward II. declared that in future all matters pertaining to the kingdom should be settled by a Parliament, in which should be represented the clergy and barons and the common people. He also abolished certain feudal taxes, and relied on grants of money by the Parliament. In 1341 the commoners were separated from the lords, and met apart for the purpose of deliberation. In 1376 the Parliament claimed and exercised the right to try members of the king's council for embezzlement.

Constitutional changes in England.

The fourteenth century was marked by a movement among the people which showed itself in many ways. In 1348 a plague spread over all Europe, which resulted in the death of perhaps half of the population. Whole districts in England were almost depopulated. This, of course, made the demand for the service of free laborers

Social movements.

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much greater. The natural effect was that all workmen demanded far larger wages than they had ever before received. The English sense of the binding force of custom and tradition was thereby deeply offended, especially since at the same time the expense of farming was increased. In 1349 both Houses of Parliament met and passed a statute that the same wages should be paid as were customary before the plague, and made it a crime for anyone to demand more. The immediate effect of this measure was to increase the bitterness already existing between the classes, but as far as prohibiting the demand of higher wages went, it was without avail. The work must be done, and the peasants refused to do it without an increase in pay. This led the landlords to try to reduce the free laborers to villainage again. In many cases the villain had secured his freedom by paying a small sum of money to his landlord. Since the service had become so much more valuable, the landlords now declared that the contract into which they had entered was unfair, and they refused to accept the sum of money agreed upon in place of service. This would have solved the difficulty and the landlords would have thereby acquired a sufficient amount of labor to till their estates, but its injustice caused a revolt. Many of Wyclif's preachers espoused the cause of the peasants, and there arose besides a large number of peasants who went about inciting the people to resistance. There was an uprising all over England. The property of the nobility was attacked, their game and fish preserves destroyed, the records of the villains' dues were burnt, and even many people put to death.

Wat Tyler's rebellion, 1381.

An army of more than 100,000, led by Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball, marched upon London, expecting to appeal to the king to support them against the nobility. They got into London and put many to death, among them the lawyers of the new Inn of the Temple and the

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Archbishop of Canterbury, who had proposed many of the obnoxious measures in Parliament. Richard II., still a mere boy, met them and promised to abolish villainage, whereupon the majority of the peasants returned home. About 30,000 of them, however, were bent on mischief, and could not be dispersed until an army attacked and scattered them. The revolt was followed by severe punishments. The leaders were put to death, as well as many who had taken part in it. All England was united against the insurgents, and the lot of the peasants became harder than ever before.

This peasants' revolt had a bad effect on a great movement which had for its author John Wyclif. By an independent study of the Bible he had come to differ radically from the Church in many points. He attacked the authority of the Pope and the doctrine of transubstantiation; later even the mass. At first he had striven against only the abuses in the Church—the worldly clergy, the heavy ecclesiastical taxes, the sale of indulgences and pardons, pilgrimages, the use of relics, and the worship of saints; but opposition developed his ideas until he broke out into open hostility to the Church in almost everything. He based all his doctrines directly on his interpretation of the Bible. He sent out many preachers to carry his teaching to the people, and they succeeded in gaining many adherents. His sympathies were, for the most part, with the common people, and his cry for reform was taken up by them. It was due in part to his agitation that the peasants' revolt took place. The violence committed on that occasion frightened the nobility and even the common people, and Wyclif's movement thus fell into disrepute. His preachers, called the Lollards, or idle babblers, were repressed and persecuted. He himself was bitterly opposed by the clergy, but escaped personal violence, though he was compelled, however, to leave Oxford and retire to his

Wyclif.

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home at Lutterworth, where he spent the last years of his life in revising an earlier translation of the Bible. He was ordered to appear at Rome to defend himself, when death overtook him. Political considerations, the alliance between Henry V. and the Papacy, led to the repeated persecutions of his followers, and so all of Wyclif's efforts at reform came to nothing. But the cry for the reform of the Church was never again hushed in Europe. Through one of his pupils, John Huss of Prague, his teachings were carried to Bohemia, where they also caused a great uprising.

The Wars of the Roses, 1455–85.

During the last years of his life Henry VI. suffered from repeated attacks of insanity, and these directly caused the civil strife known, from the badges of the opposing factions, as the Wars of the Roses. This was a struggle between the great houses of England, at first for the control of the king, and later for the possession of the crown. The duke of York drove Henry VI. out of England in 1461 and had himself crowned as Edward IV. (1461–83). For ten years the contest continued, and ended only with the death of Henry VI.

Edward IV. then felt himself secure on the throne, and found leisure to begin a war in connection with Charles the Bold of Burgundy against Louis XI. of France. He hoped to prevent the extension of French power in the Netherlands, but was unable to do so. His death put his son, Edward V., a boy of twelve years, on the throne. Both Edward V. and his younger brother, the duke of York, were put into the Tower by their uncle, Richard, duke of Gloucester, who had been made protector; and the relatives of their mother, who had been exercising great influence up to this time, were either imprisoned or put to death. Fearing that if the young king were once crowned and acknowledged, his own life would be in danger, Richard, by the most shameless charges against the honor of his own mother, secured the recognition of himself as king.

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He was crowned as Richard III. (1483). He met with some opposition, but was able to resist it successfully. He felt, however, that he was not safe so long as the young Edward V. and his brother lived, and they were accordingly put to death in the Tower by Richard's orders. This crime cost him his popularity. The duke of Richmond, another descendant of Edward III., was encouraged to invade England, and in the battle of Bosworth (1485) Richard III. was slain, and the duke of Richmond was made king under the title of Henry VII. For nearly thirty years England had suffered terribly by these civil wars, and the people, worn out, were willing to do anything or to submit to anything if only they might have peace. It was not so much that the great houses were destroyed; it was rather the horror that was everywhere felt for civil war that now opened the way for the Tudor House, of which Henry VII. was the head, to become practically absolute, and rule without regard to constitution or Parliament. The people felt that nothing could be worse than civil war, and they were glad to have a strong king, because they believed that such a ruler alone was able to preserve peace and order.

Richard III., 1483–85.

Henry VII., 1485–1500, brings peace.

The Renaissance was just beginning to be felt in England at this time. Richard III. was himself one of the most prominent supporters of the new learning. Before he saw the way open to the throne he had been especially active in this direction. It was unfortunate both for him and for the cause of learning that the temptation to seize the crown was put in his way. But even as king he was active along the same line. He passed a law forbidding any hindrance or injury to anyone who was engaged in importing or selling books in the kingdom. Learning suddenly became with many a passion. The movement was still in its swaddling-clothes, to be sure, but the foundation was being laid for the glorious achievements of the sixteenth century.

The Renaissance in England.

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To return to France, the last years of Charles VII. were not so fortunate as the first. The victories which Jeanne d'Arc won for him secured him the title of the Victorious. He established a standing army and became independent of his vassals for military service. But he quarrelled with his son Louis, who thereupon intrigued against him and made alliances with his enemies. The king also fell under the control of bad ministers, and his court was vitiated by the presence of infamous women.

A standing army in France.

Louis XI., 1461–83.

Louis XI. (1461–83) was, from the point of view of the kingship, one of the most successful of all French kings, but he has won the reputation of being the most cruel, crafty, and unprincipled of men. He was a master in the arts of duplicity and deception. His settled policy looked toward the acquisition of territory and the strengthening of the royal power. Several of the great appanages were added to the royal domain during his reign, and two most important acquisitions were made on the eastern frontier. In 1477, at the death of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, Louis XI. seized his duchy, and in 1481 he got possession of Provence. In this way the eastern boundary of France was much extended. Louis XI. established provincial parlements, thereby dividing and weakening the body that was most able to hinder the growth of the royal power. His successor, Charles VIII. (1483–98), increased his possessions by the addition of Brittany (1491), which practically completed the unification of France. The power of the king was rapidly increasing, while that of the feudal nobility was practically broken. The king was ruler in fact as well as in name. With the whole of France in his hands the way was open for Charles VIII. to look abroad. His invasion of Italy (1494) marks the beginning of the era of conquest in French history.

The unification of France.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE LESSER COUNTRIES OF EUROPE TO 1500

In this chapter it is proposed to give, in the briefest manner possible, a bird's-eye view of those parts of Europe which played no great rôle in the Middle Age, but were nevertheless engaged in the slow process of political development.

Spain.

In the northern part of Spain there were gradually formed certain principalities, such as the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Aragon, and Navarre, and the counties of Catalonia and Portugal. About 1040 Leon and Castile were united, and a hundred years later Aragon and Catalonia were made one. The county of Portugal was established about 1095. It was practically independent and in 1139 became a kingdom. About 1250 Navarre established relations with France, and for a long time had little in common with the rest of the peninsula.

When the Ommiad Khalifate came to an end (1031), five large Mohammedan kingdoms were established (Toledo, Seville, Cordova, Saragossa, and Badajoz), besides a great many little independent principalities. The struggle between these and the small Christian states on the north was constantly carried on during the Middle Age, and from them the Christians slowly won territory after territory. In 1086 the Mohammedans called on the Almoravides of northwest Africa for help. Their response resulted in the destruction of the Christian army, indeed, but also in the conquest of the Spanish emirs, and the establishment of the Almoravides

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as rulers of Mohammedan Spain. About fifty years later (1145) another sect having risen to power in Africa, the Almohades crossed the strait and in a few years defeated the Almoravides and united all Mohammedan Spain under themselves. Their rule lasted to 1212. Before the end of the thirteenth century all of Spain was again in the hands of the Christians except the southeastern part, which formed a principality known as Granada. This remained Mohammedan until 1492, when Ferdinand and Isabella conquered it.

Fall of the Moors, 1492.

Meanwhile Castile and Aragon had become the most powerful states, and gradually absorbed all the others. Sicily and Sardinia were added to Aragon during the last years of the thirteenth century. The consolidation of the two leading Spanish states was accomplished (1474) by the marriage of Isabella of Castile to Ferdinand of Aragon. The union of Spain was soon after completed and she was prepared to take her place among the leading states of Europe.

Portugal.

In 1095, when king Alphonso gave the county of Portugal to his son-in-law, Henry of Burgundy, it consisted of only the small territory between the Douro and Minho rivers. In 1139, after a great victory over the Moors, the count was made a king, and from that time on the struggle with the Mohammedans for territory went steadily forward. In about one hundred years the kingdom was extended to nearly its present boundaries. The Portuguese, turning their attention also to the sea, became the most daring sailors and explorers in the world. The Madeira and the Azore Islands were taken and added to their possessions. In the fifteenth century their voyages of discovery were directed by Prince Henry, known as "the Navigator." Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese, discovered a route around the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies (1498), thereby increasing

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Portuguese commerce and enabling Portugal to get possession of many islands, and diminishing the amount of trade between the east and west, which had been carried on by way of the eastern Mediterranean, whose great ports now began to lose their importance. Portugal's activity on the sea was so great that she was enabled to compete with the larger countries of Europe for the control of the new world which was just then being discovered and opened up.

Holland and Belgium.

The territory lying about the mouth of the Rhine (Holland and Belgium) was slow in attaining a complete independence and a separate national existence. It was a part of the Empire of Karl the Great, and in the division of 843 (Verdun) was given to Lothar. Nearly all the territory west of the Rhine from Basel to the North Sea was called Lotharingia, and came to be divided into two parts, upper and lower. The latter comprised all the territory north of the Moselle river, including, therefore, nearly all of modern Belgium and Holland. Following the feudal tendency Lotharingia broke up into several fiefs, most of which succeeded in rendering themselves practically free from foreign control. Among these feudal principalities were the counties of Namur, Hainault, Luxemburg, Holland, Gelderland, and others; the episcopal sees of Liège, Cambrai, and Utrecht; and the duchies of Brabant and Limburg. To the west of these lay the county of Flanders, which had been able to break away from the kingdom of France and become practically independent. The growth and power of the cities in all this territory were remarkable. Their inhabitants became rich, and early took part in the communal revolt. They naturally wished to be free from Germany and France, one or the other of which had sovereign claims all over this land, and hence were the allies of England in the Hundred Years' War. Their progress in civilization was rapid, and during this period they laid the

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foundation of the strength which they were to develop in the sixteenth century in their tremendous struggle with Spain.

During the last years of the fourteenth century and the first of the fifteenth the French dukes of Burgundy got possession by marriage and conquest of almost all of these little independent territories after they had seriously weakened themselves by making war on each other. By the marriage of Mary of Burgundy, the daughter of Charles the Bold, with Maximilian of Austria (1477), afterward Emperor, the Netherlands came into the possession of the House of Hapsburg. The Emperor, Charles V. (1519–55), inherited them from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, and gave them to his son, Philip II. of Spain. Against him and his misrule they revolted and carried on an heroic war for eighty years. The history of this revolt belongs, however, to another period.

Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

The conquests and settlements of the Norsemen have already been described. In the ninth and tenth centuries Denmark was united into one kingdom. One of the greatest of its sovereigns was Knut, whose conquest and government of England have already been recounted. The kingdom of Denmark had a period of considerable power, followed by another of decadence. Sweden also became a kingdom in the ninth and tenth centuries. Christianity was thoroughly established there by about 1050. Norway was not united until about the year 1000. For some centuries the history of these countries is but a confused succession of wars and civil strife.

In 1363 Waldemar Atterdag, king of Denmark, married his daughter Margaret to King Haco VI. This Haco was the son of Magnus Smek, who had become king of both Norway and Sweden, and who, after reigning for several years, had been compelled by the nobility to surrender the

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crown of Sweden to his eldest son, Eric, and that of Norway to another son, the Haco VI. mentioned above. After a long civil war Haco was the only representative of his family left alive, but the Swedes refused to accept him as their king, and elected Albert of Mecklenburg. In 1365 Waldemar Atterdag died, and Margaret secured the crown of Denmark for her son Olaf. Her husband died 1380, and Margaret took possession of Norway also for Olaf. Denmark and Norway were, therefore, united under one ruler. Although Olaf was king in the two countries, his mother Margaret was the real ruler. At his death (1387) she was elected queen in Norway and regent in Denmark. Since 1380 she had also assumed the title of queen of Sweden, although Albert of Mecklenburg had been chosen its king in 1365. Margaret now began a war on him to make good her claims to the crown of Sweden, and was in the end victorious. In 1396 she had one of her nephews, Eric, crowned king of the three countries, and in 1397, by the union of Calmar, they were firmly united. Theoretically, the union of Calmar put the three countries on the same plane. In reality, Denmark was the leading power and dominated the other two. Sweden made several attempts to revolt and gain her independence, but without success, till the appearance of Gustavus Vasa (1523). Norway, however, remained united to Denmark till 1814.

Hungary.

The victory of Emperor Otto I. over the Hungarians on the Lech (955) put an end to their invasions of the west. During the tenth century Christianity was introduced among them from Germany and Constantinople. In the year 1000 their duke, Stephen, sent to Rome to ask for the establishment of an independent Hungarian archbishopric at Gran, and also that he himself be made king. Both petitions were granted, and he became the subject of the Pope. In the time of Henry III., in consequence of a

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heathen reaction, the Christian king, Peter, was driven out. Henry III. restored him by force of arms and made him his vassal, a relation little more than nominal, because the German Emperors were so taken up with their problems in the west that they had no time to attend to Hungary. Croatia was added to Hungary (1091), although afterward lost for a short time. German influence was felt all along the western frontier, and especially through the Saxon immigrants, who were invited at various times to settle in different parts of Hungary, more particularly in the southeast districts now known as Siebenbuergen (Transylvania). The country suffered terribly under the invasion of the Mongols (from 1241 on), but the devastated countries were repeopled with Germans. The family of Stephen (the Arpad dynasty) held the throne till 1301, when it became extinct, and the crown went to an Angevin of the French family of Charles of Anjou, who had established himself as king of Sicily and Naples. After the failure of this dynasty (1437) the crown was fought over for nearly one hundred years. The country was gradually weakened by this strife, and at the same time the Turks invaded it. At the battle of Mohacs (1526) Solyman II. was able to destroy the Hungarian army, and to get possession of a large part of the country, which he held for nearly one hundred and fifty years. The rest of Hungary passed into the hands of the Hapsburgs and was added to Austria, but always enjoyed a measure of independence.

In consequence of the efforts of Otto I. to extend Christianity, and, at the same time, German influence to the east, several bishoprics (Merseburg, Zeitz, Meissen, Havelberg, Brandenburg) were established under the Archbishop of Magdeburg. Their bishops were the missionaries to the Slavs. Duke Mieczislav of Poland did homage to Otto I. and received the rite of baptism. Christianity spread

Poland.

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among the Poles, but the process of Germanizing them was checked by the establishment of Gnesen as an archbishopric (1000) directly under the Pope. This secured Poland an independent ecclesiastical development, and also the preservation of its nationality. Duke Boleslav I. first took the title of king. In the eleventh century Poland consisted of the territory on both sides of the river Warthe. Pomerania was conquered in the next century, and thus Poland acquired a seaboard. The Mongols in the thirteenth century ravaged almost the whole of the country. By the marriage of a Polish princess with the prince Jagello of Lithuania Poland acquired a new dynasty and all the territory of the Dnieper and Dniester rivers. By some victories over the German Order, established since the thirteenth century on the Baltic, her boundaries were also extended on the north till, at this time, her territory reached from the Baltic to the Black Sea. German influence was strong in many parts of Poland, because of the large number of German colonists who settled there. At the end of the Middle Age Poland seemed a powerful state and possessed of great possibilities. The nobility, however, was omnipotent, and the common people oppressed with too great burdens. The dynasty of Jagello died out in 1572, and the crown became elective. The quarrels that arose over the recurring royal election were to be the cause of Poland's destruction. She lost her sea-coast, and having no good natural boundaries, could not resist dismemberment.

The settlements of the Norsemen at Novgorod and Kiev, and the dynasty established by them, have already been spoken of. These settlements were united about 900 A.D., and shortly afterward were Christianized from Constantinople. The political chaos of the next centuries was very great. The Mongols established themselves north of the

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Russia.

Black Sea, and compelled all the principalities of Russia to pay tribute. A large part of Russia continued subject to them till the end of the fifteenth century, when Ivan III. threw off their yoke. He also reduced all the independent principalities and took the title of Czar. He built the royal palace at Moscow (the Kremlin), and laid the foundation for the growth of Russia in the next centuries.

The Greek Empire.

The Greek Empire was engaged in constant struggle with the Mohammedans. The Seldjuk Turks, as we have seen, conquered nearly all the imperial possessions in Asia. In spite of all the efforts that were made about the time of the crusades to drive them out of Asia Minor, they kept a firm hold upon a part of it. The Osman Turks came from central Asia about the middle of the fourteenth century and began a brilliant career of conquest, in which they encroached steadily on the territory of the Empire, conquered all the Balkan Peninsula, and extended their sway far north beyond the Danube. The fall of Constantinople (1453) marks the end of the Byzantine Empire. While Mohammedanism was being utterly driven out of Spain, it was firmly establishing itself on the Balkan Peninsula, from which vantage ground it was yet to threaten some of the Christian states of Europe.

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CHAPTER XIX

GERMANY, 1254–1493

ANARCHY prevailed in Germany during the great interregnum (1254–73). The great princes made use of the opportunity to seize the crown lands and to make themselves strong at the expense of the weaker nobles. But in spite of the violence of the times, owing to the spirit of self-help which the cities exhibited, as shown in the Rhenish league, industry and commerce increased. The Great Interregnum, 1254–73.

The seven princes who from this time have the sole right to elect the Emperor, because they were afraid the new Emperor would make them disgorge what they had unjustly seized, were in no hurry to end the interregnum. Finally, the Pope told them that if they did not elect an Emperor, he himself would appoint one. They accordingly got together and chose Rudolf, count of Hapsburg, who they thought would not be strong enough to interfere with them in any way. Rudolf had the good sense to see that he could do nothing in Italy and very little in Germany, so he wisely exerted himself in trying to strengthen his family by acquiring as much territory as possible. Ottokar, king of Bohemia, resisted him. Rudolf was victorious over him and confiscated his possessions (1278), retaining a large part of them for his own family. In this way the Hapsburgs became possessed of Austria, and Vienna was made their residence. After thus looking after the interests of his family, Rudolf turned his attention to the Empire, restored peace, and administered justice with a firm hand. Rudolf, count of Hapsburg, Emperor, 1273–92.

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Adolf of Nassau, 1292–98.

Albrecht I., 1298–1308.

At the death of Rudolf the electors refused to choose his son, lest the Hapsburgs should become too strong. Adolf of Nassau (1292–98) was elected, but was soon deserted because he also wished to gain territory at the expense of the Empire. The electors deposed him and set up Albrecht I. (1298–1308), the son of Rudolf I. Albrecht I. continued the policy of his father and made friends with the cities in order to have their aid against the nobles. The story of William Tell and the efforts of the Swiss to preserve their freedom is laid in his reign but has no foundation in fact.

Henry VII. of Luxemburg, 1308–13.

Henry VII. of Luxemburg (1308–13) succeeded Albrecht, and by marrying the widowed queen of Bohemia to his son, secured the possession in his family of that kingdom. Forgetting the lessons which his predecessors had learned, Henry VII. allowed himself to be persuaded to go to Italy in the vain hope of reëstablishing order there. He received both the Lombard and imperial crowns, but died suddenly near Pisa without accomplishing anything. A disputed election followed. The Luxemburg party made Ludwig of Bavaria Emperor, while the Hapsburgs elected one of their own number, Frederick the Fair. A civil war ensued which ended in the victory of the Luxemburgs. Ludwig was acknowledged Emperor, but Frederick was to be his successor, with the title of King of the Romans. He was also to act as regent in the absence of the Emperor. Ludwig then went to Italy, but was able to do nothing toward a settlement of the disturbances in that unfortunate country. He deeply offended the Pope by receiving the imperial crown from a layman, the head of the Roman Commune. A bitter struggle ensued between Pope and Emperor, in which the claims of both to universal dominion were renewed. The Pope declared Ludwig deposed, and claimed the right to act as Emperor until another Emperor should be elected. In answer to this the electors met at

Ludwig of Bavaria, 1313–47. Frederick the Fair.

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Rhense (1338), and asserted that they alone were competent to elect an Emperor, nor did their choice need the confirmation of the Pope. Rhense, 1338.

Ludwig spent the last years of his life in trying to secure property for his family. This turned the electors against him and involved him in a war with Charles of Bohemia, who was set up as a rival king, a struggle brought to an end only by the death of Ludwig (1347). Charles was everywhere recognized as his successor. As king of Bohemia, Charles IV. deserved well of his country. He acquired much new territory, getting possession of Brandenburg, Silesia, and Moravia. For his capital city, Prague, he had a special fondness. He established the first German university there (1348) and surrounded himself with the best artists of his time (Prague School of Painting). In 1356 he published the Golden Bull, by the terms of which the imperial relations of king and electors were settled. Charles made two journeys into Italy, but succeeded only in getting himself laughed at by the Italians, who had no regard for so insignificant an Emperor. He renewed the imperial claim to Burgundy by having himself crowned king of that country. But this was an empty form. Burgundy was already hopelessly broken into independent principalities, eventually to be absorbed by the expanding kingdom of France. Charles IV. was succeeded by his son Wenzel (1378–1400), but he was so incapable and became so debauched that he was deposed. Charles IV., 1347–78. The Golden Bull, 1356. Wenzel, 1378–1400.

The fourteenth century witnessed two things important in the further development of Germany: the defence of their liberties by the Swiss, and the formation of the league of the cities.

The history of the origin of Switzerland takes us back to the last Hohenstaufen. During the reign of Frederick II., the two forest cantons of Uri and Schwyz had acquired let- Origin of Switzerland.

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ters-patent from the Emperor, by which they were freed from the sovereignty of the counts of Hapsburg, whose territory lay in that part of Germany (southern Suabia). In 1291 representatives from these two cantons met with some men of Unterwalden, where the Hapsburgs still had seigniorial rights, and swore to protect each other as confederates (Eidgenossen) against every attack upon their liberties. This is the beginning of the Swiss confederation. These simple, hardy peasants, neatherds, and foresters, who, in their isolated mountain homes, had preserved much of the old Teutonic vigor, and even many of the old Teutonic institutions, had never been assimilated to the feudal system; and now that it began to irritate them with restrictions on their freedom, they resolved to shake it off. The fact that their feudal lords, the Hapsburgs, had risen to the Empire did not frighten them from their resolution. They even ventured upon encroachments of the neighboring territory. This was more than Hapsburg pride and patience would submit to, and Leopold, brother of Frederick the Fair, invaded their territory with the flower of Austrian chivalry to visit them with condign punishment. At Morgarten (1315) the Confederates suddenly fell upon Leopold, and his feudal armament was annihilated by bands of low-born peasants, equipped with axes and pitchforks. It was a spectacle new and surprising to the world, prophetic of the passing of knighthood. Owing to this success of the confederation new adherents gradually poured in, until by the middle of the century, Zurich and Bern having joined their lot to their neighbors', the confederation embraced the so-called eight old cantons (Orte). It was repeatedly called upon to defend itself against the Hapsburgs and their feudal allies of Suabia, but with the battle of Sempach (1386), won over another Leopold, it raised itself beyond danger from princely authority. This battle was, in its character of peasant

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versus baron, a repetition of Morgarten, and the touching story of Arnold of Winkelried, who is said to have made the first breach in the ranks of the enemy by gathering to his breast as many spears as he could grasp, truthfully illustrates the style of manhood destined in the new social order to supersede the knight.

The cities in Germany were of two kinds: imperial cities (Reichsstaedte), subject to the Emperor only, and seigniorial cities (Landesstaedte), subject to the princes.[1] Both classes of cities had gradually purchased a great number of privileges, so that by this time they governed themselves like so many free republics. The power was usually in the hands of a few wealthy and ancient families (Patriciate). From among these were elected the burgomaster and the assisting council (Rath), who together formed the magistracy. The increasing industrial population was divided into guilds (Zuenfte), and these, induced by the consciousness of their strength, were beginning, during the fourteenth century, to aspire to a share in the government.

The cities: their government.

For the development of the cities and their commerce, peace and security were necessary, and since the Empire was weak, they banded together for mutual protection. In 1254 the cities of the lower Rhine formed a league, and in 1344 the cities of southern and southwestern Germany made the famous Suabian League. Fearing that this league would become all-powerful, the princes attacked it at Doeffingen (1388) and won a victory over it. The cities were forbidden to form such leagues in the future, and the princes supposed they had made an end of their foe. The cities, however, recovered from the blow and increased their power and importance. Most famous of all such leagues was the Hanse, an organization which included all the cities

The Suabian League, 1344.

The Hanse.

[1] Compare with these two classes of cities the communes and the villes de bourgeoisie in France, Chapter XVI.

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in the Baltic provinces, besides having its outposts in several other countries. Beginning in a small way in the thirteenth century, the Hanse steadily grew until it embraced about eighty-five cities, monopolized the trade, and practically ruled northwestern Europe. From 1350 to 1500 the league was at the height of its power.

Rupert, 1400–10. Sigismund, 1410–37.

At the death of Emperor Rupert (1400–10) there was a disputed election, but Sigismund was finally recognized as Emperor (1410–37). His efforts to reform the Church led to the calling of the Council at Constance, which condemned Huss to be burned for his heresy, and ended the schism by deposing the three Popes who were struggling for reëlection, and electing Martin V. In 1415 Sigismund, in order to pay off his indebtedness to Frederick of Hohenzollern, gave him the mark of Brandenburg. By his wise government, Frederick reëstablished order and made himself master of the territory. The power and possessions of his successors steadily grew, till in 1701 the mark was made into the kingdom of Prussia, in our day the leading power in Germany.

The Hohenzollern acquire Brandenburg, 1415.

The revolt in Bohemia.

The burning of Huss led to a national revolt in Bohemia. That country was inhabited by Slavs, but there were many Germans there also. There was much opposition between the two races, and when the national hero, Huss, was burned by the German Emperor, the Bohemian opposition to everything German was quickened into the most bitter hostility. In 1419 Sigismund became lawful king of Bohemia, but the Bohemians refused to acknowledge him. A fierce civil war ensued; the Hussites, as they called themselves, were at first victorious, but religious and social dissensions arose among them; conservative Bohemians, frightened at the radical changes proposed by the fanatical party, made peace with the Emperor and assisted him in restoring order.

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The brief reign of Albrecht II. (1438–39), the son-in-law and heir of Sigismund, was important for the Hapsburgs, because he reacquired for them the imperial crown, and united under his dominion all the territory which has ever since formed the principal part of their possessions. He ruled over the duchy of Austria, Styria, Carniola, Tyrol, Bohemia, and Hungary. His nephew, Frederick III. (1440–93), succeeded him, but his reign presents only a long succession of blunders. He lost Bohemia and Hungary, and they were not recovered by the Hapsburgs till 1526.

Albrecht II., 1438–39.

Frederick III., 1440–93.

The signal and unmerited good fortune which befel Frederick's house and gave to it new lustre was the acquisition of the greater part of the states of the duke of Burgundy. During the fifteenth century a collateral branch of the House of France had gradually added to its French fief of Burgundy the whole of the Netherlands, and Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy (1467–77), had become one of the foremost rulers of Europe. His ambition looked toward the establishment of a great middle kingdom between France and Germany, independent of either. In this scheme the Swiss proved a stumbling-block. Their territory lay so opportune for his plans that he resolved to subjugate it. But the brave mountaineers beat back his invasion at Granson and Murten (1476), and finally his whole splendid chivalry went down before them at Nancy (1477). Charles himself was among the dead. Since there was only a daughter, Mary, to succeed him, Louis XI. of France immediately seized the crown fief, the duchy of Burgundy proper, on the claim that it was vacant, and would have taken more had not Frederick promptly acquired Mary's hand in marriage for his son Maximilian (1477), and thus established a legal claim to the rest. So the territorial expansion of the House of Austria was not checked even under this weak king. A similar chance of a happy matrimonial

The House of Hapsburg acquires Burgundy and Spain.

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alliance gave it, a few years later, the vast possessions of Spain (1516), when Maximilian's son, Philip, married Joan, heir of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Their son, Charles, was the famous Emperor Charles V. (1519–55), who could dream of renewing the Empire of the west.

Permanent decay of the Empire.

Though the Hapsburgs figure, from the fifteenth century on, among the most powerful dynasties of Europe, the Empire in nowise profited from their strength. The decay of this institution had continued from the twelfth century on, and was destined to continue without interruption. One by one its cosmopolitan claims had been exploded. It was now only the national government of Germany. But even in Germany we have seen it lose its authority, and, although it tided itself over to the nineteenth century (1806), it was never again anything more than a body without a soul. Germany had lost her central government in all but name. German strength and civilization, as far as they acquired political expression at all in the modern period, sought refuge among the local governments of the princes and the cities.

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CHAPTER XX

THE PAPACY, 1250–1450

THE struggle between the Papacy and the Empire had been fatal to both. The Papacy, indeed, seemed to have won the victory, but it had lost much of its religious character in the eyes of the people. The college of cardinals was divided into three parties, the Italian, the French, and the German. It was almost impossible to secure an uncontested election, and there were many times during the thirteenth century when there was no Pope. In Rome the Pope was continually quarrelling with the citizens, and he often found it impossible to live there. Innocent IV. spent very little time in Rome; Alexander IV. (1254–61) was never there; and Clement IV. (1265–68) lived in Perugia. Anarchy prevailed in Italy, each city being in arms against its neighbor.

Difficulties in Rome.

In 1282 the uprising of the Sicilians against the French, called the Sicilian Vespers, took place, and shortly afterward Peter III. of Aragon gained possession of Sicily in spite of all the resistance the Pope could offer. Italy was now more hopelessly divided than ever. The Spaniards held Sicily; the French, southern Italy; the Germans, parts of upper Italy; and the rest was divided among many cities and powers. Among the Ghibellines there lived on the hope that the Emperor would come from Germany and restore unity to Italy. It seemed impossible for the idea of the Empire to die.

In 1294 Benedictus Cajetanus of Anagni, having com-

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Boniface VIII., 1294–1303.

pelled his predecessor to resign, was made Pope, with the title of Boniface VIII. (1294–1303). His pontificate marked the highest pretensions, and, at the same time, proved the impotence, of the Papacy. "When Boniface mounted the throne he found much in the complexion of politics which invited a brilliant course of papal statesmanship. The Holy Land was in the power of the infidels; the Sicilian question still undecided. In Germany, instead of the powerful Rudolf of Hapsburg, ruled a less powerful king, Adolphus of Nassau; Philip IV., the Fair, king of France, and Edward I., king of England, were engaged in a desperate war. On both sides were numerous allies, namely, on the French side, the king of Scotland, on the English, Adolphus, king of Germany, and the count of Flanders. Boniface wished, after the example of Innocent III., to convert this war at once into a suit to be decided before him, and when his legates were dismissed by Philip he thought to frighten the king by forbidding him to impose extraordinary taxes on the clergy." In the famous bull, "Clericis Laicos," he forbade, on pain of excommunication, all laymen to collect taxes on Church lands, and all clergymen to pay them. Since the Church was very rich in lands, if this bull had been enforced the income of the king would have been greatly diminished. Philip IV. retaliated by forbidding any money to be taken out of France into Italy, thus cutting off the Pope's income. For a time Boniface yielded, and even tried to make peace with Philip. He said the bull was not to be enforced in France, and even granted Philip the tithe from the French clergy for three years. But the quarrel soon broke out again. Philip received at his court two members of the Colonna family, whom Boniface had exiled from Rome, and made an alliance with Albrecht, king of Germany, whose election Boniface refused to recognize; seizing also and imprison-

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ing the papal legate. Angered by this, Boniface sent forth one decree after another against Philip. The French clergy were summoned to Rome to meet the Pope and settle the dispute. Another bull, "Unam Sanctam," was issued, which declared that the Pope was entrusted with both the spiritual and temporal power, and that whoever resisted him was resisting the ordinance of God. Submission in temporal matters to the Pope was declared to be necessary for salvation. Boniface next threatened to depose Philip and put him under the ban if he did not yield. Albrecht of Germany made peace with the Pope and accepted the terms of the bull, "Unam Sanctam," but Philip called another meeting of his council, preferred a large number of charges against Boniface, and called for a general council to settle the matter. Boniface then published the ban and edict of deposition, only to be besieged in Anagni a month later by the king's ambassador, William of Nogaret, and the Colonna family. He was personally maltreated, but set free a few days later, dying, however, the next month, probably from chagrin and anger caused by the indignities which had been heaped upon him.

The Jubilee of 1300.

It was Boniface VIII. who celebrated the jubilee in 1300, an event which stirred the minds and imaginations of the people at that time most deeply. During this celebration Boniface, it is said, gave expression to his extravagant claims by seating himself on the imperial throne, "arrayed with sword and crown and sceptre, shouting aloud, 'I am Cæsar! I am Emperor!'"

His successor, Benedict XI. (1303–4), was hard pressed by Philip IV., and at last retracted all the extravagant claims of Boniface so far as France was concerned. For nearly a year after his death the cardinals could not agree on a candidate, but at length the French party in the college elected the bishop of Bordeaux, who had already

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Clement V. at Avignon.

made a secret compact with Philip IV. He chose the name of Clement V. (1304–14). In 1309 he moved the whole Curia to Avignon. Rome was no longer safe for him, the noble families of the city being constantly engaged in street brawls, and since the German Emperors had lost their power, there was no one to preserve order. He went to Avignon because that city was in France, and France was at that time the leading country of Europe. Philip IV. wished to use the Papacy against other nations. There was a certain advantage in this to the Pope. He could issue his bulls against hostile powers in all security, because being surrounded by French territory no foreign power could reach him. But the Papacy lost much in the estimation of the world. It was but a tool in the hands of the French king, whose powers were rapidly growing. The religious authority of the Pope suffered much, and various parts of the Church showed signs of breaking loose from it. Clement V. yielded to almost all the demands of Philip IV. He supported him in the unjust destruction of the order of Knights Templars. He was despised by the people of his time, and before he died Dante had already put him into hell.

His successor, John XXII., spent most of his time in a bitter struggle with Ludwig of Bavaria (1314–47) about the imperial crown and Italy, which is marked by the appearance of a new theory of the state, promulgated by one branch of the Franciscans. They advanced the idea that the people are sovereign. "Church" meant the whole body of Christian believers, not, as the Roman Catholic Church said, the clergy alone. Even the laymen are all viri ecclesiastici, that is, they have a part in the government of the Church. The highest authority is vested in a General Council. The Papacy is not apostolic in its origin, but dates from the time of Constantine. The Pope,

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therefore, has no authority over kings, and the state is independent of him. These Franciscans were protected by Ludwig, and assisted him in his struggle. Other writers, however, continued to develop a definite theory of the supremacy of the Pope.

During the residence of the Popes at Avignon the finances of the Papacy were systematized and everything done to insure the collection of vast sums of money. The principal aim of the Church seemed to be to tax the world. This period of the residence of the Popes in Avignon is generally called by church historians the Babylonian Exile of the Papacy.

The Schism.

In 1378 the papal Schism began. Gregory XI. had finally, in 1377, moved the Curia back to Rome, but died the next year. Urban VI. (1378–89) was elected in Rome, but by his harsh manner he alienated those cardinals who were under the influence of the French king, and they soon after revolted from him, declared his election void, and elected Clement VII. (1378–94). Clement soon withdrew to Avignon and continued the papal line there, while Urban VI. remained in Rome. There were now two men claiming to be Pope. Germany, England, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland declared for Urban; France, Naples, Savoy, Scotland, Lorraine, Castile, and Aragon were true to Clement VII. For about thirty years there were two lines of Popes, and the religious world did not know which one to obey. The Schism gave rise to the severest criticism of the Papacy, and gave such men as Wyclif and Huss a good opportunity to set forth doctrines at variance with those of the Church.

The Conciliar Idea.

Since neither Pope would yield, and it seemed impossible to end the Schism in any other way, the idea of calling a universal Council was broached. It was declared that in the early days of the Church a Council had been the highest

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authority. This position of authority had been usurped by the Popes. Now let the Council be called, and since it is competent to do so, let it say who is the right Pope. After long discussion of all this the cardinals called a Council to meet at Pisa (1409). This Council deposed the two Popes, and elected Alexander V., but as the deposed Popes refused to acknowledge the authority of the Council, there were now three Popes and the Schism was made worse. Although Alexander V. had promised not to dismiss the Council until the Papacy had been reformed, and especially its finances regulated, he soon prorogued it on the ground that not sufficient preparations had been made to proceed with the reform.

From this theory of the power of the Council over the Pope this period has been called the conciliar epoch. It produced two more Councils, that of Constance and that of Basel. In Constance (1414) the question of the Schism was again taken up. Every cardinal swore once more that, if elected, he would reform the Church before dismissing the Council. In 1417 Martin V. was elected, after the three other Popes had been deposed, but he destroyed all hopes of reform by adjourning the Council and declaring that whoever appealed to a general Council would be guilty of heresy.

Constance, 1414.

The idea of a reform was still strong in the minds of many, and the belief that a general Council could reform the Church led to the calling of a third Council at Basel (1431). The Pope, however, was too shrewd and strong for the reform party, and succeeded in blocking all their attempts to reform the Church. Some action was taken, indeed, but the Pope was able to prevent its being enforced. The failure of this council showed that no reform could come by way of legislation. From the time of Eugene IV. (1431–47) a new period may be said to have

Basel, 1431.

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begun for the Papacy. The conciliar idea lost all its power, although the people still called for a general Council, and even Luther, nearly a hundred years later, thought at first that the Church might be reformed by this means. The Popes gave up all thought of a reform, and the Papacy became a political principality. The Popes of the succeeding period are often called heathen.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

Characteristic ideas of the Middle Age.

THE period which we have been studying, erroneously called the Dark Ages, had a civilization peculiarly its own. Politically, the age was dominated by the idea of the world-Empire, until the thirteenth century saw the destruction of the Empire and the rise of nationalities and states. Ecclesiastically, it was ruled by the idea of the world-Church, with the Pope at its head, until the Papacy lost sight of its religious calling and degraded itself to the rank of a political principality. Intellectually, the period may be gauged by the fact that the Germans, a vigorous, primitive people, were slowly learning, adopting, and adapting the Roman civilization preserved and taught them by the Church. Of all the institutions in the Middle Age the Church, because she held the position of both priest and teacher of the young barbarian world, was by far the most powerful. She assumed an authority that was often burdensome, trying many times to limit and even to prevent any new social or intellectual movement which seemed calculated to diminish her supremacy. This clerical domination lasted almost unquestioned till about 1300. Then, after many ineffectual attempts, Europe, finally, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, broke away from it, intellectually, in the Renaissance and, religiously, in the Reformation.

The Middle Age was productive in many fields.

The Middle Age presents many phenomena which indicate that the mind of man was not idle. The schools of Karl the Great, and the universities which appear about

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the twelfth century; the Latin literature, chronicles, biographies, histories, controversial and doctrinal writings; the two opposing systems of philosophy, nominalism and realism, each of which was represented by men who have left us many works attesting the keenness and power of their intellects; the many treatises on theological questions; the religious writings of such men as Bernhard of Clairvaux, Eckhart, and Thomas à Kempis, whose inimitable "Imitation of Christ" is still a classic of men mystically inclined; the organized life of the nobility, as seen in Chivalry, with its ideal of Christian knighthood, and its literature of religion, love, war, and adventure; the minstrels, in the north of France the trouvères, in the south the troubadours, in Germany the minnesingers; the lyric poetry, and especially the great national or religious epics, such as the Song of Roland, the Nibelungenlied, the Tales of king Arthur and the Round Table, the Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, the Tales about Karl the Great, and Alexander the Great, and the Holy Grail, and the Divine Comedy of Dante; the two great styles of architecture, the Romanesque (to 1150) and the Gothic (1125–1500), with their magnificent churches, cathedrals, city halls, and palaces; the decorative arts, wood-carving, glass and panel-painting, sculpture, miniature painting and illuminating; the religious painting whose greatest representative is Giotto; the new life in the cities, the growth of commerce, the rise of the people to wealth and political independence, their activity in building, in the practice of the fine as well as the industrial arts, in literature, such as the fables, miracle plays, and master-songs; what more is necessary to show that the Middle Age was full of mental vigor and activity, much of which may still command our interest and admiration?

The Renaissance in its broadest signification is the name given the new civilization which gradually displaced in the

The Renaissance.

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minds of men the mediæval conceptions of the state, of society, of nature, of art, and of philosophy. It was a revolution under the dominant influence of the Roman-Greek world, which, after a thousand years of oblivion, was again brought to light and life. The world had outgrown the narrow ideals of the Middle Age, and when the ancient world was revealed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by its art and literary treasures, there was a spontaneous movement toward the freer life which had been the charm of classic times. But as the people could not wholly get away from their past, so the Renaissance is characterized by the fusion of the classical with the mediæval.

The Renaissance began in Italy.

The Renaissance had its origin, and reached its highest development, in Italy, and was from there carried to all the other countries of Europe. In Italy the conditions favorable to such a movement were far more numerous than anywhere else. Italy had more of the Roman civilization. Rome was there with her monuments and all her wealth of traditions. Though the wear and tear of daily use had greatly simplified it, and it was rapidly becoming Italian, the Latin tongue was kept alive. In Italy the power of the Empire was weakest, and the feudal system remained an excrescence. The cities of Italy were the first to become independent. Their situation, with all its opportunities, seemed to act as an intellectual ferment, and for a while they led the world in civilization.

No fixed date can be given for the beginning of the Renaissance; but when the awakened intelligence of the people began to busy itself with the materials of antiquity, it may be said to have been fairly initiated. Not that the classics had been wholly neglected during the Middle Age. Many Latin authors had been read; but the point of view from which they were regarded was now changed. And, besides, while hitherto they had been read and studied by

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the clergy, they now became the intellectual possession of the laity.

Petrarch (1304–74), because he did not stand under the control of the ideas of the Middle Age, is commonly called the first modern man. His education was not mediæval. He was trained in the study of the best Latin authors, and their beauties he learned to appreciate and imitate. He leads the list of able men, those Humanists, who with this changed conception of the classics devoted themselves to their study. While he based his claim to fame on his Latin works, we admire him because of his sonnets and songs in Italian. Petrarch, 1304–74.

No man before Petrarch was so deeply introspective in a psychological way as he. He may be said to have rediscovered the world of emotions as well as the world of the senses without. He had a direct pleasure in the beautiful things of the earth, her hills and valleys, her fields and flowers. The Middle Age believed that nature with all her glorious phenomena were manifestations of the Evil One. Petrarch almost emancipated himself from this view. Perhaps he was the first man in centuries to climb a mountain for the mere delight of the journey. In 1335 he made the difficult ascent of Mt. Ventoux in France. When he reached the summit he was for a moment lost in admiration of the magnificent prospect. But only for a moment. The mediæval man in him soon reasserted himself. Overcome by the recollection of his sins and follies, he drew from his pocket and began to read his favorite book, the "Confessions of St. Augustine."

Boccaccio (1313–75), a friend of Petrarch, like him was a scholar whose interests were centred in the works of antiquity. Although a Latin author of renown in his day, he is known to us as the author of the "Decameron," the first great work in Italian prose.

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Petrarch and Boccaccio were followed by a large number of scholars of varied attainments, who collected and copied manuscripts, wrote works in Latin, and taught in the universities. The most famous among them were Poggio, celebrated for his wit, and Laurentius Valla, known as the father of historical criticism, because he proved that the Donation of Constantine was a forgery. Florence became the home of this new learning and the centre of the Humanistic movement. The Medici family were its patrons, and to this fact owe much of their fame. The Popes, too, became eager promoters of art and Humanism, and spent large sums in rebuilding, restoring, and beautifying Rome.

Poggio, 1380–1459. Laurentius, 1406–57.

Italian Art before the Renaissance.

Not all the art of Italy is Renaissance art. The Renaissance, we have seen, begins with Petrarch and his disciples, but there was an art in Italy before Petrarch. It does not lie within our task to treat of it at length. Two broad divisions are usually noted: the Romanesque period (800–1250) and the Gothic period (1250–1400).

Art practice had almost died out in Italy after the invasions. The old structures, baths, theatres, arches of triumph, etc., were allowed to decay, and gradually were converted into the fortresses of robber barons, provided they were not still more unfortunate and did not suffer utter destruction because of the vast amount of convenient building material they afforded. Mosaics, the cutting and carving of jewels, gold and silversmith work, the miniature arts, in a word, were alone kept up with any success. But as more settled conditions succeeded, the old affection for things beautiful began to return. Desire fixed first, and naturally, upon finer churches. The eleventh century saw the construction of the cathedral of Pisa, which became the point of departure for a new style. It is characterized by round arches, colonnades of pillars, and other Roman rem-

Romanesque and Gothic architecture.

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iniscences. Many cities of Tuscany and the North, moved by the same religious enthusiasm, followed the example of Pisa. The Tuscan-Romanesque thus created had something of a vogue, but before it had been allowed to evolve itself completely it was supplanted by the Gothic. The Gothic with its pointed arch was a foreign importation and never struck firm roots in the peninsula. It was plain that the future of art in Italy lay in a return to the national tradition. The return was accomplished by the Renaissance.

Early sculpture and painting.

Sculpture and painting began to be practised more vigorously about the same time that architecture took a new start. Two names sum up the pre-Renaissance activity in these art-branches, Niccolo Pisano and Giotto. Niccolo Pisano (d. 1278) is the first great sculptor of Italy, as Giotto (d. 1339) is the first great painter. They placed their respective arts upon a new footing, but their immediate successors, instead of developing, squandered their inheritance. Their failure to develop these arts along the new lines indicated by Pisano and Giotto gave the artists of the Renaissance their opportunity. For in sculpture and painting, too, as in architecture, the Renaissance created a wholly new basis and became a new starting-point for the artistic development of Italy.

Three periods of Renaissance art.

It will prove convenient to consider the Renaissance art in its several phases. The early Renaissance extends from about 1420 to 1500; the Renaissance proper from 1500 to 1530; after that, reaching to the end of the century, comes the late Renaissance, which is distinguished by a rapid decay. Our concern is with the first and second periods.

Architecture. Brunellesco.

The artistic revival is properly the offspring of humanism. The first great apostle of antiquity, the Petrarch among the artists, was the Florentine Filippo Brunellesco (1379–1446). He was an architect, and that it was one of his art, and not a sculptor or painter, who re-introduced the classi-

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cal forms need cause no surprise. Architecture has always gone in advance of the other arts, preparing the way for them. It erects the monuments, sculpture and painting ornament them. And then architecture found her way back to antiquity more readily than the sister arts. The painting of antiquity was destroyed, the sculpture buried, but the architecture was visible and tangible in a large number of beautiful ruins. In the year 1403 Brunellesco set out for Rome with the avowed purpose of studying Roman antiquity. His protracted residence in the Eternal City, during which he occupied himself with a profound study of the ancient buildings, marks an epoch. Upon his return to Florence he applied his new knowledge with wonderful success. He got the commission to raise the cupola over the cathedral of Florence, a magnificent undertaking which had defied the efforts of all others, the first in point of time of all great cupolas, and eclipsed only by St. Peter's. Secondly, in the churches of San Lorenzo and San Spirito he made an end of the Gothic style in Italy, returning again to the form of the old Basilica. The simple grace of rows of Ionic or Corinthian columns spanned by artistically decorated round arches won its old ascendency over the Italian mind, and once for all displaced the sombre intensity of the pointed-arch architecture in central Italy. Thirdly, in his Pitti Palace, he raised a residence which for originality and massive grandeur remains unequalled.

Brunellesco's activity proved highly fruitful. The new style met with a triumphal reception everywhere. Leo Battista Alberti (d. 1472), of Florence, erected the Palazzo Rucellai in his native city, and the Church of San Francesco at Rimini. Bramante, a Lombard architect (d. 1514), made the next great step in advance. His work lay in the direction of a greater purity of expression. The classical forms were more completely mastered by him,

Alberti.

Bramante.

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and with avoidance of mere hollow imitation were cleverly adapted to modern uses. His going to Rome upon the call of the Pope perhaps contributed most toward making that city the centre of the second and most complete period of Renaissance art. He was the first architect of St. Peter's, but unfortunately his plan was greatly modified after his death. Michel Angelo Buonarroti (d. 1564) in his capacity of architect marks no step in advance over Bramante. His most famous achievement, in the art of building, is the cupola of St. Peter's. Michel Angelo lived to see the decay of the Renaissance forms to the atrocities of the *barocco*,[1] and even may himself be said to have contributed to it with his designs for the façade of S. Lorenzo and with the new Sacristy of the same church.

Michel Angelo.

An unexampled building activity, extending from Brunellesco to Michel Angelo, fairly covered Italy with structures of the new style. We noted its beginnings and its decline; it has, like all such movements, a gradual rise (early Renaissance), a culmination (full Renaissance), and a setting (late Renaissance). Brunellesco used the new knowledge judiciously, giving full weight to tradition, while maintaining his own personality, and taking wise account of the changed uses of modern structures. He never forgot that the Christian architect was not expected to rear baths, triumphal arches, and open theatres, but churches and residences, and he attempted to find a style which would represent the marriage of classical principles to modern requirements. He was a genius, and, as happens with such, far outleaped his immediate followers. While he was definite in expression and resolute in aim, they bungled and experimented, allowed their imaginations too free a range, and ended by producing monuments, which

Characteristic of Renaissance architecture.

[1] This name was given the later architecture of the Renaissance because of its ludicrous extravagance.

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if they are elaborate and attractive, are frequently marred by grotesqueness. Then came Bramante with his self-restraint and order; he found the most acceptable solution of the problem of adaptation which Brunellesco had first expounded, for although the Roman-Greek ideal of beauty was by him thoroughly absorbed, the modern personality was not sacrificed. But the world is so constituted that it cannot pause long at perfection. From the time of Michel Angelo it fell into a love of violent effects which destroyed repose and simplicity.

One feature of early Renaissance architecture merits a further word, especially on account of its consequences for the other arts. It is the strong love of decoration displayed throughout the fifteenth century. The age had all the boisterous qualities of youth; above all, it was graced with a lively imagination, and revelled in gay colors, in sculptured friezes, in fancy woodwork, and in every kind of heightening in the power of the sister arts. Architecture thus proved a mighty force in the development of the kindred branches. But the architect did not only give employment to the sculptor by leaving him niches to fill, or to the painter by creating walls for him. Not only to the artists did he lend encouragement, but also to the artisans; and one of the rarest pleasures of the connoisseur of Renaissance art is derived from the uniform delicacy of the smallest art details, *e.g.*, the stone-carved altars, the tarsia (inlaid work) of the choir seats, or the designs of cup and jewel-case and crozier.

Architecture stimulates the other arts.

Sculpture.

Four sculptors almost contemporaneously carry the new spirit into their art: Jacopo della Quercia, Lorenzo Ghiberti, Donatello, and Luca della Robbia. Of these the first was a Sienese, the others Florentines. Though they all exhibit the new influence, their styles are very different.

Quercia.

Quercia (1374–1438) created his master-work in the sculpt-

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ures of the portal of S. Petronio, at Bologna. They show a delight in the problem of form and a mastery over the nude which comes with a start in a man who was born into a world governed by Gothic traditions and who himself never altogether shook them off. He was a restless genius, always in motion, who worked unevenly and rarely finished what he undertook.

Quercia was perhaps only once in his life brought into close contact with his Florentine contemporaries. It was on the occasion (1401) of the competition for the bronze doors of the Baptistery of St. John. The Florentines proved themselves superior to him, and upon the voluntary withdrawal from the competition of Brunellesco (who, disgusted with his own work, resolved to forsake sculpture for architecture) the prize was awarded to Lorenzo Ghiberti. Ghiberti (1378–1455) was brought up, like so many of his brother artists, to the profession of goldsmith, and showed the good and bad effects of this apprenticeship to the end of his days. While his narrative is fluent and his execution delicate, he never could reach the grandeur that is proper to the larger scale of work which the sculptor employs. His fame rests rightly on the two bronze doors of the Baptistery, for the small dimensions of the compartments required just the kind of talent of exposition and finish which he possessed. Michel Angelo pronounced the later door to be worthy to serve as the gate to Paradise. Ghiberti.

Donato di Betta Bardi, known for his loving qualities by the diminutive Donatello (1386–1466), was an infinitely more robust artist, and came just in the nick of time to preserve the influence of Ghiberti from drawing all effort off in the direction of prettiness and grace. He planted himself firmly on reality. Nature was the alpha and omega of his creed, and held such ascendency over him that although he was deeply stirred by antiquity, to which he Donatello.

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was introduced through the influence of his friend Brunellesco, the classical ideal was well held in abeyance. However, he, among Renaissance artists, made the first complete study of the nude (David, in the Museum of Florence). Donatello's work ought properly, on account of its importance, to be considered by stages of development, but we cannot do more than name a few representative productions. His most ambitious work is the bronze equestrian statue of Gattamelata, at Padua.[1] Horse and man are admirably studied. The St. George, at Florence, is one of the most popular statues in the world. It belongs to Donatello's earlier period, and in its attitude and expression of concentrated energy, alert for service, mediæval chivalry may be said to have made its last self-revelation.

A class of work which admirably suited Donatello's affectionate temperament was his childhood studies. The boy Jesus and the boy John he presented at every stage of growth, giving us in a series of busts and statues a number of delightful transcripts of the little urchins who met his gaze in the Florentine streets. In his rendering of children he stands, perhaps, unsurpassed among the sculptors of all times.

Luca della Robbia.

Luca della Robbia's (1400–82) greatest work is the organ-loft which he created in competition with Donatello, for the cathedral of Florence. Around the balustrade run, in bas-relief, the famous choirs and bands of children. Every charming attitude of childhood Luca's art has immortalized in his singing and dancing girls and boys.

Robbia-ware.

Perhaps Luca's name, however, is more frequently pronounced in connection with the so-called Robbia-ware (blue and white glazed terra-cotta) which he first brought into vogue. The cheapness of the material made it possi-

[1] The glory Donatello achieved by this work is further heightened by the fact that it was the first grand equestrian statue since antiquity.

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ble for every church, no matter what its size, to have its altar-piece or door-lunette from the Robbia workshop. The making of the white madonna looking down out of a blue sky, while the child hung about her neck, and angel heads peeped through opening rifts around, developed into a regular industry.

Verocchio, 1435–88.

Andrea del Verocchio (1435–88) began life as a goldsmith, and achieved great renown in this branch. Unfortunately all of his pieces except one are lost. Though he took up painting, he cannot be ranked with the masters of this art. His epoch-making activity lay in the province of sculpture. Most meritorious are his David (Florence Museum), an exquisite boy just shooting into manhood, his Doubting Thomas (Florence, Or San Michele), and his equestrian statue of the condottiere, Colleoni, at Venice. It is generally judged that this is the finest large bronze of the whole Renaissance period, and that the war spirit animating rider and horse, welding them into one, has never been caught in so convincing a manner.

Michel Angelo, 1475–1564.

With Michel Angelo (1475–1564), sculpture entered its last stage. This Titanic man practised all the arts, and was, as has been well said, from sheer inability to do his wonderful many-sidedness justice, four souls in one, that is, was eminent and creative as architect, as sculptor, as painter, and as poet.

He was apprenticed, when a lad, to the painter Ghirlandajo, but did not remain long with him. Lorenzo de' Medici soon interested himself in the promising boy, took him into his palace, giving him a seat at his own table, and then set him to studying the antiques he had collected in the garden of S. Marco. In 1496 the young sculptor journeyed to Rome, and his life after that may be said to have been passed between the capital of the Popes and his native city, which two places accordingly possess almost all

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his works. He lived only for his art, and like men of such consuming inner energy soon became lonely and unsocial. Therefore the outward events of his life are not peculiarly striking.

His training.

In the literal sense of the word it is true that he was his own master, borrowing from none. No trace of what he learned from Ghirlandajo or any other can be found in his works; therefore, of Florentine sculpture, he cannot be said to be the logical culmination. He is undoubtedly a Florentine by his art, but occupies a unique position among Florentines.

His early works.

His best early works are the Drunken Bacchus (Florence), the Pietà (Rome), the colossal David (Florence), and a number of Madonnas in relief. For some these are Michel Angelo's most enjoyable creations.

His style.

In all of them the *terribilità*, of which his contemporaries spoke with such awe, and which is his true manner, is either absent or only forming. In the works of his ripe years, the Medicean tombs at Florence, the Moses at Rome, and the Slaves at Paris, it speaks with a full voice. Instead of repose "in the eventual element of calm," which is the art-ideal of the Greeks, Michel Angelo fills his figures with an overflowing feeling of some vast pain or fate. Expression is everything to him, and mere beauty, the Greek beauty of pure form, never had a message which he caught.

Michel Angelo's unique genius captured Italy by storm. The next generation thought only of imitating him or else the antique models from which it was supposed he drew his strength. In either case the artist sacrificed his personality. Sculpture lost its genial qualities and entered upon a rapid decline.

The decline of sculpture.

The Renaissance found its most complete expression, after all, not in sculpture, but in painting, and that though sculpture received far greater aid from antiquity and was

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first to make a beginning. Painting began very modestly under the protection of the Church. Altar-pieces exhibited to the gaze of the faithful, the Madonna or some saint, and chapel walls recalled the Passion of Christ. With the advancing Renaissance, however, the vision of the painter widens. Like the sculptor, he is drawn to the study of nature. Realism becomes his artistic creed. Masaccio (1402–29), a Florentine, is the first great revolutionary, comparable in his services to Donatello and Brunellesco.

Development of painting.

Painting, which had begun in the service of the Church, does not dissolve that connection with the Renaissance. Only from the time of the discovery of its new powers it began to offer more than the Church demanded. Mere figures of holy men and women to serve as reminders of the perfect life, was all that the Church had originally expected of its hand-maid. In the fifteenth century the painters voluntarily offer additions and embellishments in accordance with their new perceptions. They put the figure into an appropriate environment of street or field. They take delight in realistic adjuncts, such as playing children, animals, etc., which have nothing whatever to do with the religious theme, but undoubtedly render the scene more evident. Presently the biblical figures lost their stole and their aureole and took on the sturdy humanity of the contemporary burghers. Hand in hand with these innovations went an astonishing development of proficiency in drawing. In these ways painting gradually lost much of its original intensity but immensely increased its subject-matter. In a word, it sacrificed its religious function and frankly launched out upon life.

The painting of the Renaissance.

Masaccio was the inaugurator of this epoch. Almost all that remains of this great genius' work are the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel at Florence, a part of which are the product of his brush. They treat of scenes from the life of the Apos-

Masaccio.

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tles Peter and John. The Tribute Money, representing Christ surrounded by the Apostles, is in the reality of its figures and in its unity one of the most powerful compositions in existence. The succeeding generations down to Raffaele and Michel Angelo studied and profited from the Brancacci chapel.

Fra Filippo Lippi.

Fra Filippo Lippi (1406–69) took his clue from Masaccio. But he sacrifices the dignity of his master and strives especially for the pretty rendering of accessories, the smiles of children or a household still-life. The old religious severity vanishes completely with him, and an innocent pleasure in all phases of existence glows in all his works.

Fra Angelico.

Benozzo Gozzoli (1420–98) works in the same vein and even more naïvely. Fra Angelico (1387–1455) a Dominican monk, displays a thorough mediæval current of feeling, which by some accident found its way into the Renaissance period. He cared little or nothing for that proficiency in form and execution for which his contemporaries strove almost exclusively, but worked in the old Christian spirit for which art was not an end in itself but a symbol. What is possible to that interpretation he gives, a Christian aspiration as warm and ennobling as that of Giotto. The monastery of S. Marco at Florence, where he lovingly filled the cells of his brother monks with Christian ideals and records, remains his unique monument.

Botticelli, Lippi, Ghirlandajo.

The last great Florentine painters of the fifteenth century are Sandro Botticelli (1447–1510), Filippino Lippi (1457–1504), son of Fra Filippo, and Domenico Ghirlandajo (1449–94). The two latter carry on the purely realistic movement, but Ghirlandajo is by far the nobler in his art. His cycle of frescoes in the choir of S. Maria Novella (Florence), representing scenes from the lives of John and Mary, is one of the most notable monumental labors of the century. In Botticelli there still sounds a note of the old idealism, and his great charm lies in the peculiar

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blending of it with the realistic tendency of the day. He is a sad painter (see his numerous Madonnas), and he ended sadly, hesitating between art and religion in the fear that they were mutually exclusive. He tried a curious experiment of translating the stories of ancient mythology into form and color which remains a witness of the strong influence of the humanists upon the painters.

Other Schools.

A great number of schools of painting, which can hardly be named here, arose in the fifteenth century. The school of Siena is important. In Umbria Francesca (d. 1492) and Perugino (d. 1524) justly attained a wide popularity. Andrea Mantegna (1430–1506) was the greatest of the school of Padua.

Francesca.

Perugino.

Andrea Mantegna.

School of Venice.

It is curious to reflect that that city, which in its later development reached a point of excellence in the province of painting, which makes it the rival and possibly the superior of Florence, should have entered so late upon the paths of the Renaissance. But the insularity of Venice, geographically and intellectually, was such in its early days, that it took a long while before a continental movement leaped across the lagoons. When, however, the art of painting had once taken root there, it made rapid progress and soon acquired a perfectly national mode of expression. There must have been something about the rich atmosphere of the sea-city and its vivacious inhabitants which was congenial to its development. The first great name is that of the Bellini, the father, Jacopo (d. 1404), and his two sons, Gentile and Giovanni. Little of Jacopo's work has come down to us, but it is clear that it was he who introduced the continental influences, since there is record of his relations with Umbrian and Florentine masters, and, more especially, with Mantegna, who married his daughter. The two sons Gentile (d. 1507) and Giovanni (d. 1516) began in the manner of Mantegna, but soon developed a

The Bellini.

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style which is thoroughly their own. Giovanni is the more famous. The path he travels is pursued by the whole Venetian school after him. Its feature is the development of color. Broadly stated the Venetians are the only Italians who fully apprehended the possibilities of color. They are the colorists, the Florentines the draughtsmen. Giovanni is admired besides for his beautiful airy backgrounds (they are the germ of landscape painting) and his rich tone and deep poetical feeling. His enthroned Madonnas, surrounded usually by groups of venerable and strongly individualized saints, are possibly the noblest devotional pictures of the whole period.

The feature of the Venetian school is color.

The masters thus far enumerated are essentially of the fifteenth century, of the early Renaissance. The full Renaissance which follows, covers a very short period (1500–30 about), but is graced by the greatest names of the period, and in them presents the legitimate culmination of the different schools we have indicated. In this highest stage, three cities figure preëminently. They are Florence and Venice, which having plunged deepest into all the problems of the early Renaissance, now achieved a merited perfection, and Rome, which produced nothing out of its own strength whatever, but had the good fortune, through the liberal patronage of art-loving Popes, to draw some of the best talent of Italy within its walls. Thus Raffaele, and Michel Angelo, in his capacity of painter, are considered the centres of the Roman school, although the one was an Umbrian and the other a Florentine. Lionardo da Vinci, a Florentine, and Titian, a Venetian, may conclude our list of supreme and representative names.

The full Renaissance, 1500–30.

The three great centres.

Lionardo da Vinci (1452–1519) was one of those universal geniuses in the production of whom the Renaissance was so prodigal, and in the many-sidedness of his talents

Lionardo da Vinci.

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perhaps he excelled them all. Celebrated especially as a painter, he was besides proficient, sometimes even to the degree to rank him with the innovators and discoverers, as an architect, sculptor, musician, engineer, and physicist. And as if nature had been pleased to make in him an ideal man, these powers were joined to a human form of herculean strength and divine mould. And yet few creations of this man's genius have come down to us. Time and fortune have been particularly severe with him, and many works of his that once shone in splendor are now destroyed or marred. At the same time it must be acknowledged too that he was never eagerly productive. He had so much intellectual curiosity about the principle behind appearance, he was so conscientiously set upon dismissing nothing which was not perfect from his workshop, that he spent (one dare not say wasted) whole months in following some curious speculation or studying some elaborate effect.

Causes of his unproductiveness.

Lionardo was an illegitimate child. He was put to study with Verrocchio. Still a young man he was drawn to the brilliant court of Milan. Later we find him in the employ of Cæsar Borgia, whom he served as engineer, then at Rome and at various places, and, finally in France, where he died, nobly provided for by that truly royal monarch, Francis I.

His life.

The Louvre at Paris has the best of his easel pictures—the Mona Lisa (or La Gioconda) and a Holy Family; more than one critic has ventured to assign to the former the first place in its class as "the portrait of portraits." His Last Supper at Milan has been more often reproduced than any other composition of the Renaissance. Of Lionardo's school at Milan, Luini (d. 1533) is the most famous name. At Florence many artists took their clue from him, notably Fra Bartolommeo (d. 1517), whose paintings are especially celebrated for their architectonic beauties, and, indirectly,

His works.

His followers.

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Andrea del Sarto (d. 1531), who might have rivalled Raffaelle but that he wanted Raffaelle's soul.

Michel Angelo as painter.

That Michel Angelo became a painter is owing to an accident. He was in the employ of the Pope and the Pope commanded him to paint. He was assigned the ceiling of

The Sistine Chapel.

the Sistine Chapel, the walls of which were already covered with the works of Umbrian and Florentine masters, and though he prayed that he be allowed to continue the sculptures for the tomb of the Pope, Julius II. was obdurate. The labor lasted from 1508 to 1512, and for its magnitude alone is an almost incredible production. Around the border runs a wreath of twelve sibyls and prophets. The long space in the middle is divided into rectangular compartments and filled with representations (nine in number) from the Old Testament (Acts of Creation, the Fall, etc.). The lunettes over the windows are adorned with Old Testament family groups, and the numerous spaces between the architectural framework are filled with a whole world of decorative figures. The contemporaries immediately accorded this monumental achievement that enthusiastic tribute of praise which no succeeding generation has refused. The beings which Michel Angelo portrayed upon the Sistine ceiling are without a model. They are, in the boldest sense of the word, the titanic children of his titanic mind. All that was ungovernable and superhuman in this mysterious soul is recorded there. Later (1534–41) he painted upon the back wall of the chapel the Last Judgment. Christ is enthroned above. The graves have opened and the saved are floating up to heaven on one side, while on the other, the servants of Lucifer are reaching for their prey. It is a vast composition, perhaps too vast, and is therefore more successful in its details than in its general effect.

The Last Judgment.

Raffaelle.

Raffaelle (1485–1520) probably represents to the major-

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ity of our generation the essence of the Renaissance. Undoubtedly he was its most mellow product. If Lionardo was more magical in his effects, and Michel Angelo more titanic, Raffaelle was more eminently human by his fuller comprehension of the range of human feelings. Living closely in contact with mankind, he was enabled to create a world of men and women among whom we move with ease and delight. Raffaelle was born at Urbino, in Umbria. His father, himself a painter of some renown, died before the son was ready to receive instruction. At about the age of fifteen the boy was bound as apprentice to Perugino at Perugia. In 1504 he removed to Florence, and thence he passed in 1508, upon the call of the Pope, to Rome, where he resided till he died. These stages in his life are interesting. Each contributed an important element to his completion. From Perugino he took what was serious and honest in the religion of the Umbrian school, in Florence he came under the influence of the realistic movement with its accumulated experiences of a hundred years, and at Rome the grandeur of the city lent his work its monumental character. Every healthy art-impulse which he encountered was welcomed and assimilated to his nature. Nothing undid him, nothing destroyed that splendid harmony of his faculties, which gives him his inimitable joyousness and freedom.

His life.

His development.

Raffaelle was an astonishingly fertile artist. The works by which he is best known are the various Madonnas and the Vatican frescoes.

His best-known works.

His Madonna-ideal differs greatly from that of his predecessors. He does not give us the handmaiden of the Lord, spirit-crushed with present or expected burdens, but typical women rather, who have no necessary connection with the thread of Christian story. Two kinds of madonnas prevail; the one is the human mother, the other the heavenly

His Madonnas.

Two ideals.

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queen. Very excellent representatives of the two classes are the Madonnas of the Chair (Florence) and the Sistine Madonna (Dresden). The former shows us a Roman woman such as Raffaelle must have encountered often in his daily walks. There is no attempt made to spiritualize her; she is the happy and goodly human mother of the round child which she holds in her lap. This conception is strengthened by the local Roman costume in which the Madonna is presented. The Sistine Madonna, on the other hand, is the expression of another ideal. She has nothing of the earth, she is the Lady of Heaven, and as she floats along upon clouds, with the Son of God upon her arm, she bids the troubles of earth cease and mankind fall upon its knees and worship.

Frescoes of the Vatican.

The frescoes of the Vatican, the residence of the Popes, rank with those of Michel Angelo in the Sistine Chapel as the most splendid monuments of the Renaissance. They represent a colossal labor, the walls and ceilings of four large rooms being covered with allegorical and historical scenes. The most celebrated allegories are the Dispute and the School of Athens. In the former Raffaelle gave his conception of the nature and ends of theology, and in the latter of the nature and ends of philosophy. The world has never ceased expressing its admiration at the way in which these pure abstractions have been rendered into living and pictorial images. The best of the historical scenes is the expulsion of the Syrian general Heliodorus from the temple at Jerusalem. The composition is masterly. Three stages of the story are brought before our eyes within the same frame, the danger of the Church, the punishment of the robber, and the triumph, but a single glance suffices to harmonize these elements into a whole of incomparable impressiveness.

Titian (1477–1576) is the most representative name of

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the Venetian school. Perhaps no other painter has carried the art of portraiture to so great a perfection. Besides, he produced a great number of biblical scenes and Holy Families, all alike distinguished by the rare Venetian color-harmony, but lacking perhaps in spiritual seriousness. Titian was a mundane artist, though a very noble one. The School of Venice preserved itself longest from the late Renaissance infection, and such capable artists as Tintoretto (1519–94) and Veronese (1528–86) continued their far-shining labors well into the modern era.

Titian and the later Venetians.

It was worth our while to study the movement of the Italian Renaissance so much in detail, because, as has already been made clear during its gradual development, the thought-content of the Middle Age was destroyed and a new thought-content grew up in its place. The new aims and ideals of the Renaissance form the foundation of our modern period. To Italy belongs the honor of having supported the better part of the labor of this intellectual revolution. Primarily, of course, she struggled for herself, but by the nature of her connection with Europe, her efforts turned to the benefit of the civilized world as well. That during the progress of the evolution she gave expression to her new ambitions in the creation of a noble and enduring art, is, from the point of view of the philosophy of history, only incidental to the central fact, the widening of civilization. From Italy the movement of liberation spread across the Alps, and we have in the sixteenth century, in all the northern countries, in France, Germany, and England, a French, German, and English Renaissance, all of which, although exhibiting national modifications in each case, unmistakably proclaim their derivation from the south. Even the German Reformation, with which Modern History begins, is only the liberating movement of the Renaissance as it manifested itself under the altered conditions of the north.

Importance of the Italian Renaissance.

It lays the foundation of the modern era.

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The Renaissance not only an intellectual and artistic movement.

Expansion of industry and commerce.

Age of discoveries.

Inventions.

Gunpowder.

Printing.

So the Italian Renaissance tolled the death-knell of the old order. We have largely confined our attention to its intellectual and æsthetic aspects. But it is interesting to follow out the consequences of the mental revolution for the dependent and ramified departments of human labor. We have already shown that the beginnings of the Renaissance were accompanied by an expansion of commerce and industry. This movement continued uninterruptedly, new resources being gradually developed and new territories being constantly drawn into the circle of international intercourse. There followed as a natural consequence the Age of Discoveries, culminating in the discovery of America (1492), by which the contemporary widening of the mental horizon was supplemented by a fortunate widening of the physical world. A large number of practical inventions, made about the same time, contributed their share to the overthrow of mediæval conditions. Gunpowder (invented during the fourteenth, but not used generally until the fifteenth century) put an end to the military superiority of the mounted nobility, while printing, which began to multiply books during the fifteenth century, destroyed the monopoly of learning hitherto maintained by the universities. By these changes mankind had put itself, practically and theoretically, upon a different basis and was prepared to enter upon a new stage of its existence.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

I.

EMPERORS AND POPES

NOTE 1.—The table of Emperors is complete from Karl the Great on; the table of Popes contains only the more important names.

NOTE 2.—The names in italics are those of German kings who never made any claim to the imperial title. Those marked with an * were never actually crowned at Rome. Charles V. was crowned by the Pope, but at Bologna, not at Rome.

Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
314	Sylvester I. (d. 336).		
		Constantine (the Great), alone.	323
		Julian the Apostate.	361
		Theodosius I.	379
		Arcadius (in the East), Honorius (in the West).	395
		Theodosius II. (E.).	408
		Valentinian III. (W.).	424
440	Leo I. (the Great). (d. 461).		
		Romulus Augustulus (W.).	475
		(Western line ends with Romulus Augustulus, 476.)	
		[*Till* 800, *there are Emperors only at Constantinople*]	
		Anastasius I.	491
		Justin I.	518
		Justinian.	527
		Justin II.	565
590	Gregory I. (the Great), d. 604		
715	Gregory II.		

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Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
		Leo III. (the Isaurian).	718
731	Gregory III.		
741	Zacharias.		
752	Stephen II.		
752	Stephen III.		
772	Hadrian I.		
		Constantine VI.	780
		(Deposition of Constantine VI. by Irene, 797.)	
		[The table gives henceforth only the Emperors of the new Western line.]	
795	Leo III.		
		Karl the Great.	800
		Ludwig I.	814
816	Stephen IV. (d. 817).		
		Lothar I.	840
		Ludwig II. (in Italy).	855
872	John VIII. (d. 882).		
		Charles II. (the Bald).	875
		Charles III. (the Fat).	881
885	Stephen V.		
891	Formosus.		
		Guido (in Italy).	891
		Lambert (in Italy).	894
896	Boniface VI.		
896	Stephen VI. (d. 897).		
		Arnulf.	896
		Ludwig the Child.	899
		Louis III. of Provence (in Italy).	901
		Conrad I.	911
		Berengar (in Italy).	915
		Henry I. (the Fowler).	918
955	John XII.		
		Otto I., King, 936; Emperor, 962.	962
963	Leo VIII. (d. 965).		
		Otto II.	973
		Otto III.	983
		Henry II. (the Holy).	1002
		Conrad II. (the Salic).	1024
		Henry III. (the Black).	1039
		Henry IV.	1056
1057	Stephen IX.		
1058	Benedict X.		
1059	Nicholas II.		
1061	Alexander II.		
1073	Gregory VII. (Hildebrand).		
		(Rudolph of Suabia, rival.)	1077
1080	(Clement, Anti-pope.)		
		(Hermann of Luxemburg, rival.)	1081

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Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
1086	Victor III.		
1087	Urban II.		
		(Conrad of Franconia, rival.)	1093
1099	Paschal II.		
		Henry V.	1106
1118	Gelasius II.		
1119	Calixtus II. (d. 1124).		
		Lothar II.	1125
		*Conrad III.	1138
		Frederick I. (Barbarossa).	1152
1154	Hadrian IV.		
1159	Alexander III. (d. 1181).		
1159	(Victor Anti-pope).		
		Henry VI.	1190
		*Philip of Suabia, Otto IV. (rivals).	1197
1198	Innocent III.		
		Otto IV., alone.	1208
		Frederick II.	1212
1216	Honorius III.		
1227	Gregory IX.		
1241	Celestine IV.		
1243	Innocent IV. (d. 1254).		
		(Henry Raspe, rival.)	1246
		(William of Holland, rival.)	1246
		*Conrad IV.	1250
		Interregnum.	1254
		*Richard of Cornwall and *Alfonso of Castile, rivals.	1257
1271	Gregory X. (d. 1276).		
		*Rudolf I. of Hapsburg.	1273
1277	Nicholas III. (d. 1281).		
		*Adolph of Nassau.	1292
1294	Boniface VIII.		
		*Albrecht I. of Hapsburg.	1298
1303	Benedict XI.		
1305	Clement V. (who removes Papacy to Avignon).		
		Henry VII. of Luxemburg.	1308
		Louis IV. of Bavaria.	1314
		(Frederick of Austria, rival.)	
1316	John XXII. (d. 1334).		
		Charles IV. of Luxemburg.	1347
		(Günther of Schwarzburg, rival.)	
1352	Innocent VI.		

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Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
1362	Urban V.		
1370	Gregory XI. (who brings Papacy back to Rome).		
1378	Urban VI.	*Wenzel of Luxemburg.	1378
	(Clement VI., Anti-pope.) [*Here begins the Great Schism.*]		
		*Rupert of the Palatinate.	1400
		Sigismund of Luxemburg.	1410
1417	Martin V. [*Great Schism healed.*]		
1431	Eugene IV.		
		*Albrecht II. of Hapsburg.	1438
		Frederick III. of Hapsburg.	1440
1447	Nicholas V.		
1455	Calixtus IV.		
1458	Pius II. (Æneas Piccolomini).		
1464	Paul II.		
1471	Sixtus IV.		
1484	Innocent VIII.		
1492	Alexander VI. (Borgia), d. 1503.		
		*Maximilian I. of Hapsburg.	1493
		Charles V. of Hapsburg.	1519

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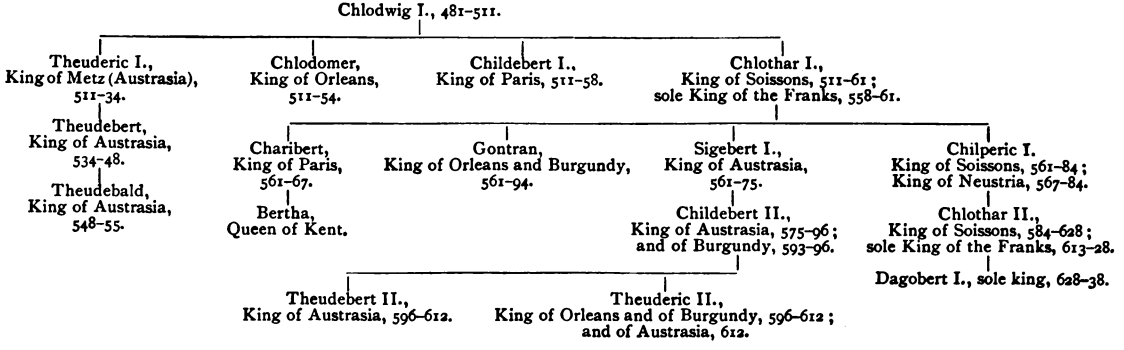
II.—THE MEROVINGIAN KINGS TO DAGOBERT I.


Chlodwig I., 481–511.
Theuderic I., King of Metz (Austrasia), 511–34.
Chlodomer, King of Orleans, 511–54.
Childebert I., King of Paris, 511–58.
Chlothar I., King of Soissons, 511–61; sole King of the Franks, 558–61.
Theudebert, King of Austrasia, 534–48.
Theudebald, King of Austrasia, 548–55.
Charibert, King of Paris, 561–67.
Bertha, Queen of Kent.
Gontran, King of Orleans and Burgundy, 561–94.
Sigebert I., King of Austrasia, 561–75.
Childebert II., King of Austrasia, 575–96; and of Burgundy, 593–96.
Chilperic I. King of Soissons, 561–84; King of Neustria, 567–84.
Chlothar II., King of Soissons, 584–628; sole King of the Franks, 613–28.
Dagobert I., sole king, 628–38.
Theudebert II., King of Austrasia, 596–612.
Theuderic II., King of Orleans and of Burgundy, 596–612; and of Austrasia, 612.

NOTE.—After Dagobert come the Donothing Kings (rois fainéants).

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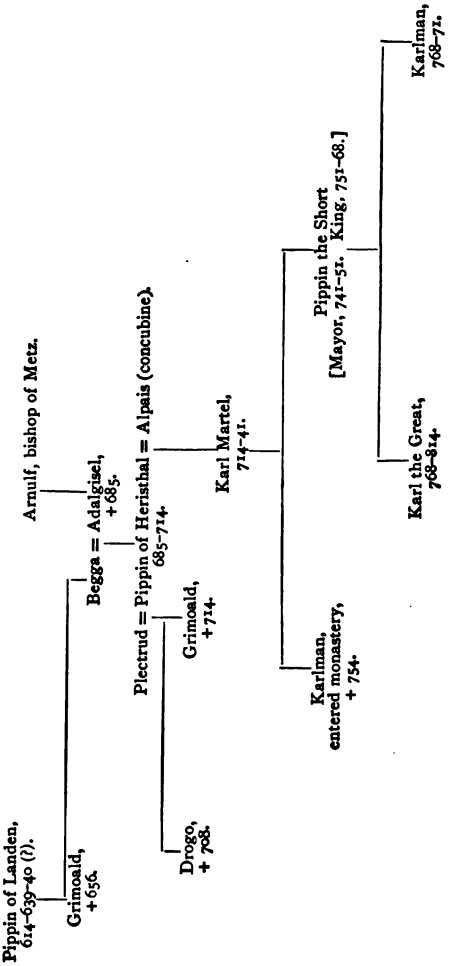
III.—THE DUKES OF AUSTRASIA (ANCESTORS OF KARL THE GREAT).



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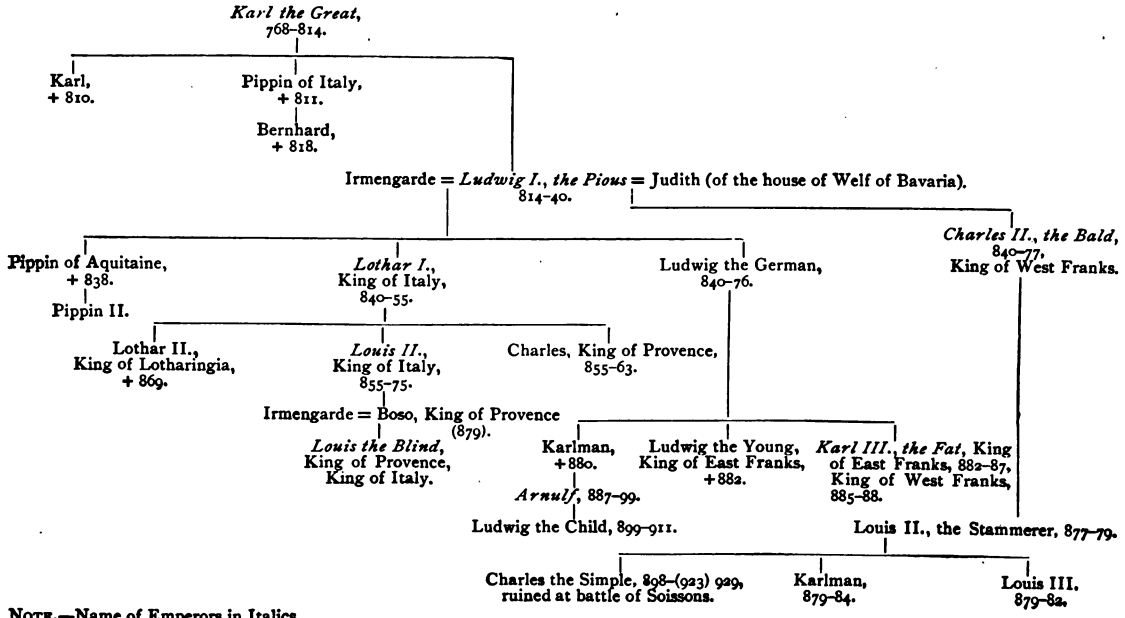
IV.—THE CAROLINGIAN HOUSE (THE KARLINGS).


Karl the Great, 768–814.
Karl, + 810.
Pippin of Italy, + 811.
Bernhard, + 818.
Irmengarde = *Ludwig I., the Pious* = Judith (of the house of Welf of Bavaria). 814–40.
Charles II., the Bald, 840–77, King of West Franks.
Pippin of Aquitaine, + 838.
Pippin II.
Lothar I., King of Italy, 840–55.
Ludwig the German, 840–76.
Lothar II., King of Lotharingia, + 869.
Louis II., King of Italy, 855–75.
Charles, King of Provence, 855–63.
Irmengarde = Boso, King of Provence (879).
Louis the Blind, King of Provence, King of Italy.
Karlman, + 880.
Ludwig the Young, King of East Franks, + 882.
Karl III., the Fat, King of East Franks, 882–87, King of West Franks, 885–88.
Arnulf, 887–99.
Ludwig the Child, 899–911.
Louis II., the Stammerer, 877–79.
Charles the Simple, 898–(923) 929, ruined at battle of Soissons.
Karlman, 879–84.
Louis III. 879–82.

NOTE.—Name of Emperors in Italics.

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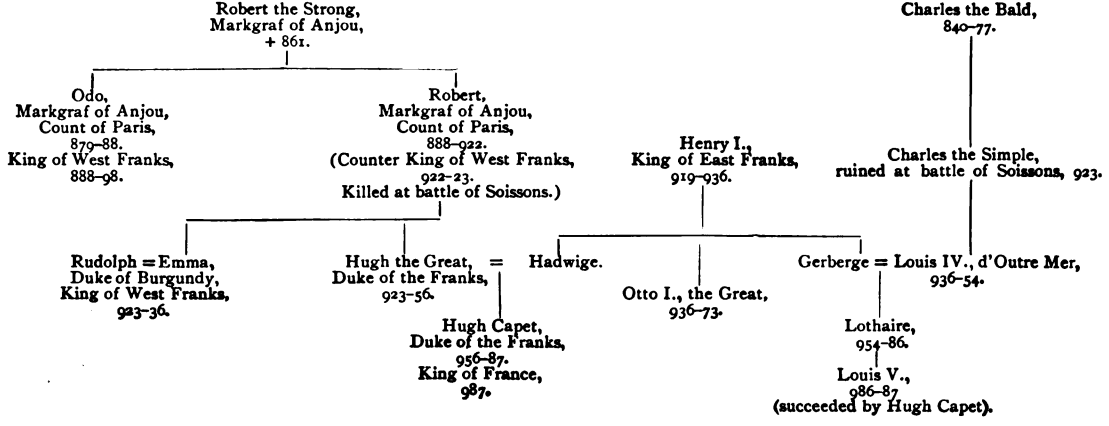
V.—LATER CAROLINGIANS AND FIRST CAPETIANS (ROBERTINES), SHOWING THEIR CONNECTION AND RIVALRY.


Robert the Strong, Markgraf of Anjou, + 861.
Odo, Markgraf of Anjou, Count of Paris, 879–88. King of West Franks, 888–98.
Robert, Markgraf of Anjou, Count of Paris, 888–922. (Counter King of West Franks, 922–23. Killed at battle of Soissons.)
Rudolph = Emma, Duke of Burgundy, King of West Franks, 923–36.
Hugh the Great, = Duke of the Franks, 923–56.
Hugh Capet, Duke of the Franks, 956–87. King of France, 987.
Henry I., King of East Franks, 919–936.
Hadwige.
Otto I., the Great, 936–73.
Charles the Bald, 840–77.
Charles the Simple, ruined at battle of Soissons, 923.
Gerberge = Louis IV., d'Outre Mer, 936–54.
Lothaire, 954–86.
Louis V., 986–87 (succeeded by Hugh Capet).

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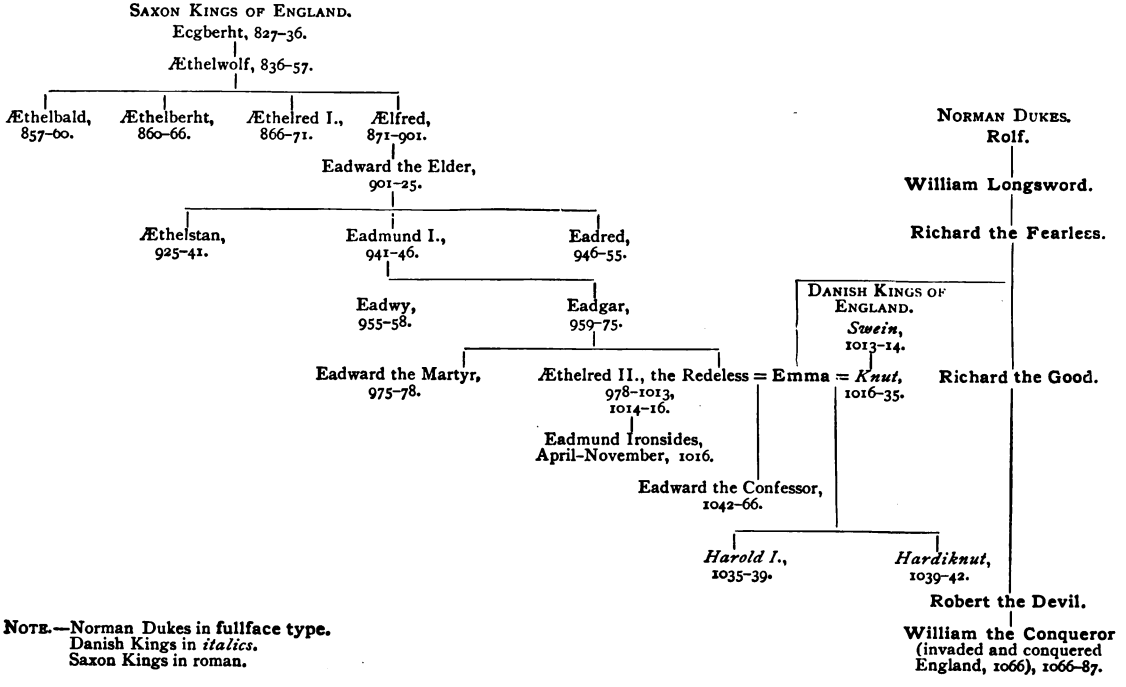
VI.—KINGS OF ENGLAND TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.



Note.—Norman Dukes in **fullface type.**
Danish Kings in *italics.*
Saxon Kings in roman.

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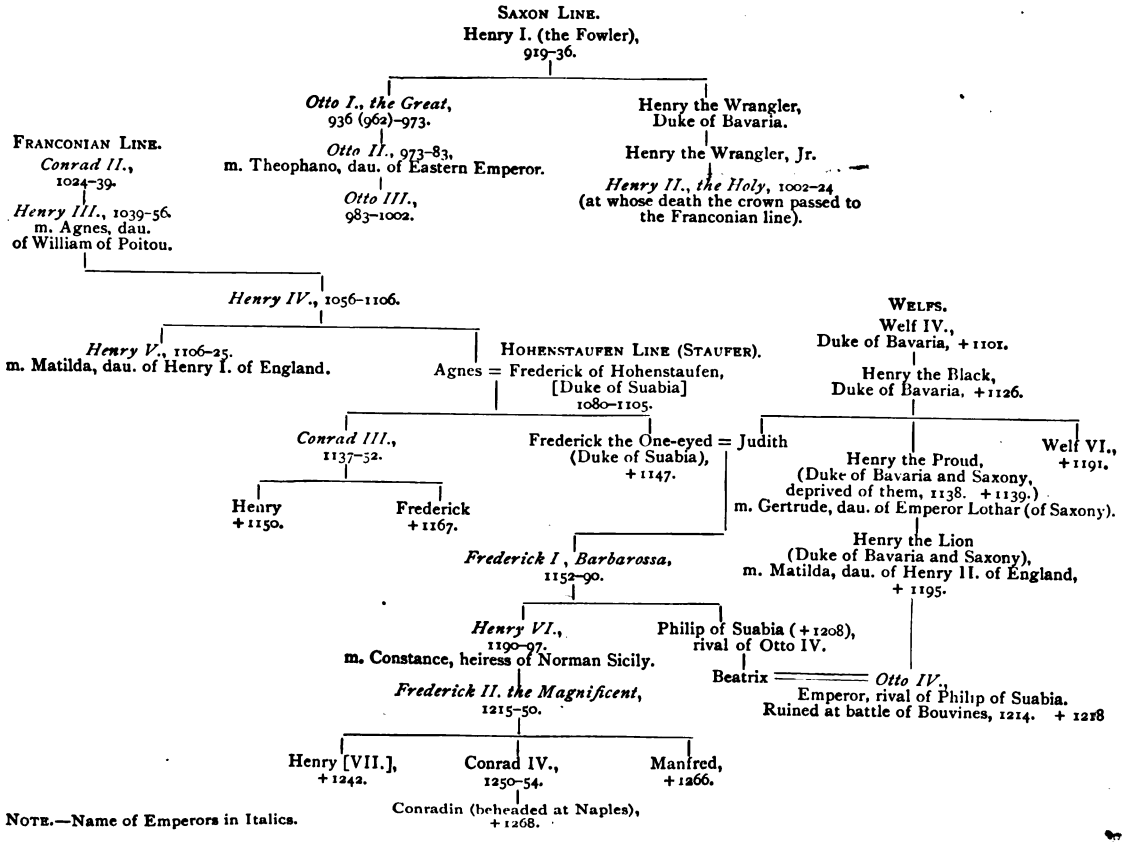
VII.—THE SAXON, FRANCONIAN, AND HOHENSTAUFEN HOUSES; THE WELFS.


Saxon Line.
Henry I. (the Fowler), 919–36.
Otto I., the Great, 936 (962)–973.
Otto II., 973–83, m. Theophano, dau. of Eastern Emperor.
Otto III., 983–1002.
Henry the Wrangler, Duke of Bavaria.
Henry the Wrangler, Jr.
Henry II., the Holy, 1002–24 (at whose death the crown passed to the Franconian line).
Franconian Line.
Conrad II., 1024–39.
Henry III., 1039–56. m. Agnes, dau. of William of Poitou.
Henry IV., 1056–1106.
Henry V., 1106–25. m. Matilda, dau. of Henry I. of England.
Hohenstaufen Line (Staufer).
Agnes = Frederick of Hohenstaufen, [Duke of Suabia] 1080–1105.
Conrad III., 1137–52.
Henry +1150.
Frederick +1167.
Frederick the One-eyed (Duke of Suabia), +1147.
Frederick I, Barbarossa, 1152–90.
Henry VI., 1190–97. m. Constance, heiress of Norman Sicily.
Frederick II. the Magnificent, 1215–50.
Henry [VII.], +1242.
Conrad IV., 1250–54.
Conradin (beheaded at Naples), +1268.
Manfred, +1266.
Welfs.
Welf IV., Duke of Bavaria, +1101.
Henry the Black, Duke of Bavaria, +1126.
Judith
Henry the Proud, (Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, deprived of them, 1138. +1139.) m. Gertrude, dau. of Emperor Lothar (of Saxony).
Welf VI., +1191.
Henry the Lion (Duke of Bavaria and Saxony), m. Matilda, dau. of Henry II. of England, +1195.
Philip of Suabia (+1208), rival of Otto IV.
Beatrix
Otto IV., Emperor, rival of Philip of Suabia. Ruined at battle of Bouvines, 1214. +1218

Note.—Name of Emperors in Italics.

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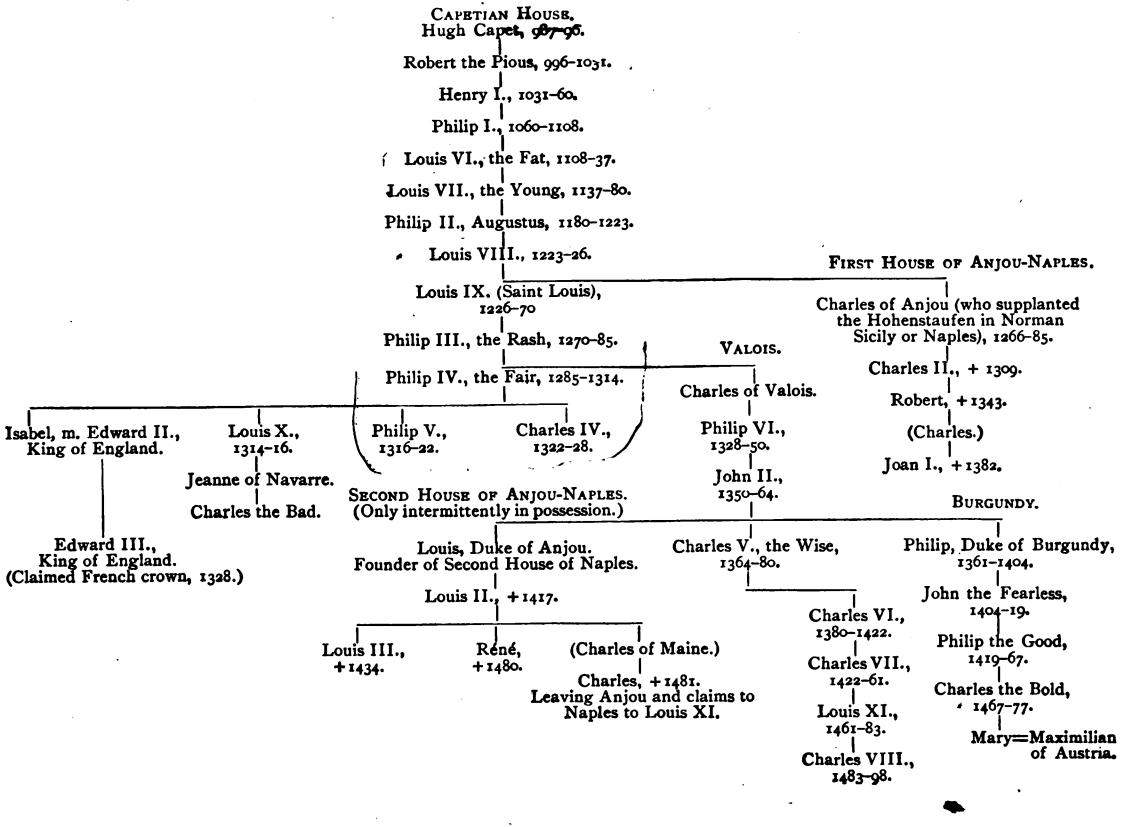
VIII.—KINGS OF FRANCE AND COLLATERAL BRANCHES.


Capetian House.
Hugh Capet, 987–96.
Robert the Pious, 996–1031.
Henry I., 1031–60.
Philip I., 1060–1108.
Louis VI., the Fat, 1108–37.
Louis VII., the Young, 1137–80.
Philip II., Augustus, 1180–1223.
Louis VIII., 1223–26.
Louis IX. (Saint Louis), 1226–70
Philip III., the Rash, 1270–85.
Philip IV., the Fair, 1285–1314.
Isabel, m. Edward II., King of England.
Edward III., King of England. (Claimed French crown, 1328.)
Louis X., 1314–16.
Jeanne of Navarre.
Charles the Bad.
Philip V., 1316–22.
Charles IV., 1322–28.
Second House of Anjou-Naples. (Only intermittently in possession.)
Louis, Duke of Anjou. Founder of Second House of Naples.
Louis II., +1417.
Louis III., +1434.
René, +1480.
(Charles of Maine.)
Charles, +1481. Leaving Anjou and claims to Naples to Louis XI.
Valois.
Charles of Valois.
Philip VI., 1328–50.
John II., 1350–64.
Charles V., the Wise, 1364–80.
Charles VI., 1380–1422.
Charles VII., 1422–61.
Louis XI., 1461–83.
Charles VIII., 1483–98.
First House of Anjou-Naples.
Charles of Anjou (who supplanted the Hohenstaufen in Norman Sicily or Naples), 1266–85.
Charles II., + 1309.
Robert, +1343.
(Charles.)
Joan I., +1382.
Burgundy.
Philip, Duke of Burgundy, 1361–1404.
John the Fearless, 1404–19.
Philip the Good, 1419–67.
Charles the Bold, 1467–77.
Mary=Maximilian of Austria.

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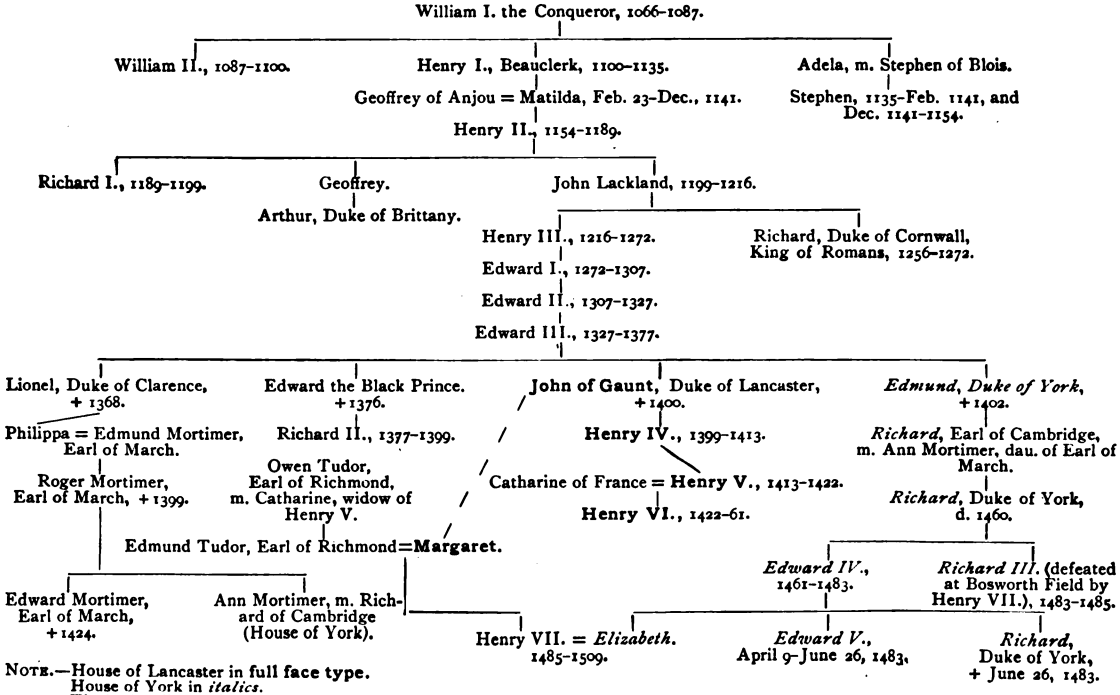
IX.—KINGS OF ENGLAND FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO HENRY VII.


William I. the Conqueror, 1066–1087.
William II., 1087–1100.
Henry I., Beauclerk, 1100–1135.
Adela, m. Stephen of Blois.
Geoffrey of Anjou = Matilda, Feb. 23–Dec., 1141.
Stephen, 1135–Feb. 1141, and Dec. 1141–1154.
Henry II., 1154–1189.
Richard I., 1189–1199.
Geoffrey.
John Lackland, 1199–1216.
Arthur, Duke of Brittany.
Henry III., 1216–1272.
Richard, Duke of Cornwall, King of Romans, 1256–1272.
Edward I., 1272–1307.
Edward II., 1307–1327.
Edward III., 1327–1377.
Lionel, Duke of Clarence, + 1368.
Edward the Black Prince. +1376.
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, +1400.
Edmund, Duke of York, +1402.
Philippa = Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.
Richard II., 1377–1399.
Henry IV., 1399–1413.
Richard, Earl of Cambridge, m. Ann Mortimer, dau. of Earl of March.
Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, +1399.
Owen Tudor, Earl of Richmond, m. Catharine, widow of Henry V.
Catharine of France = Henry V., 1413–1422.
Henry VI., 1422–61.
Richard, Duke of York, d. 1460.
Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond = Margaret.
Edward IV., 1461–1483.
Richard III. (defeated at Bosworth Field by Henry VII.), 1483–1485.
Edward Mortimer, Earl of March, +1424.
Ann Mortimer, m. Richard of Cambridge (House of York).
Henry VII. = Elizabeth. 1485–1509.
Edward V., April 9–June 26, 1483.
Richard, Duke of York, + June 26, 1483.

NOTE.—House of Lancaster in full face type.
House of York in *italics*.
The broken line indicates that Margaret is a descendant of John of Gaunt, and that Henry VII. is therefore by his mother a Lancastrian.

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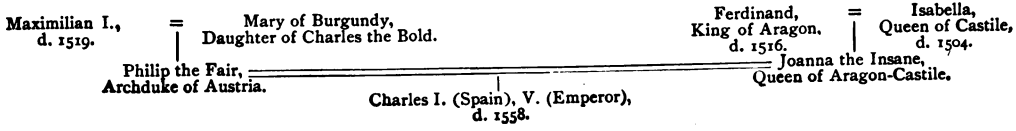
X.—THE HAPSBURG-BURGUNDIAN AND HAPSBURG-SPANISH MARRIAGES.


Maximilian I., d. 1519.
=
Mary of Burgundy, Daughter of Charles the Bold.
Ferdinand, King of Aragon, d. 1516.
=
Isabella, Queen of Castile, d. 1504.
Philip the Fair, Archduke of Austria.
Joanna the Insane, Queen of Aragon-Castile.
Charles I. (Spain), V. (Emperor), d. 1558.

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II. The Migrations of the Nations.
III. The History of the New Christian German States.
IV. The Reaction of the Empire Against the Germans.
V. The Franks (481–814).
VI. The Dismemberment of the Empire.
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VIII. Germany and Its Relation to Italy (887–1056).
IX. England and the Norsemen (802–1070).
X. The Normans in Italy.
XI. Feudalism.
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XIV. Monasticism.
XV. Mohammed, Mohammedanism, and the Crusades.
XVI. The Development of the Cities, More Especially in France.
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XVIII. France (1108–1494). England (1070–1485).
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XX. Germany (1254–1493).
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LIST OF MAPS.

Europe, 350 A.D., showing the Roman Empire and Barbarians.
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The Empire in the Time of Otto the Great.
England, 878.
The Crusades.
France, 1185.
France, 1360
Europe about 1500.

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